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The Nation.

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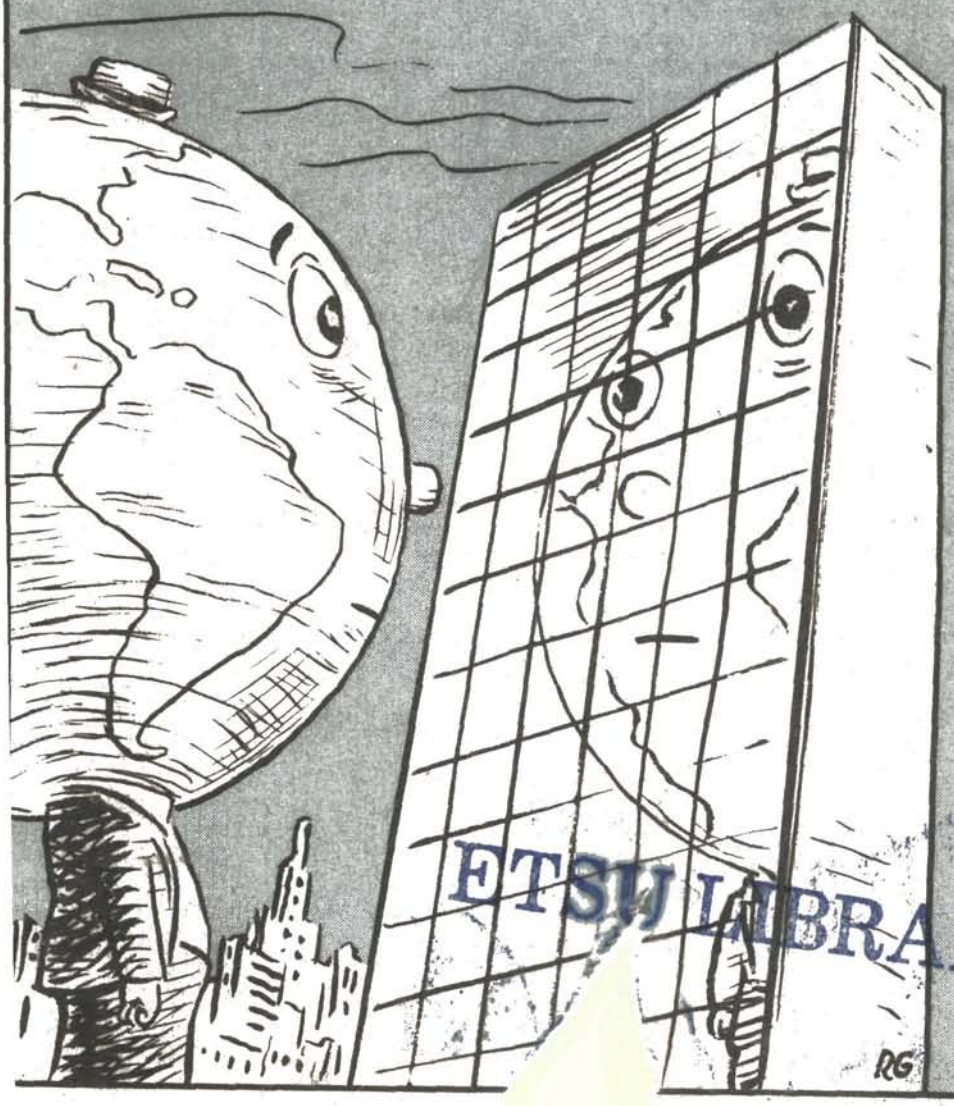
Reflections on A Glass House: THE U.N. AT 40



OVERVIEW
Richard Falk

AMERICA AND THE U.N.
Charles William Maynes

THE U.N. AND THE MIDDLE EAST
Stephen Green

THE THIRD WORLD
Eqbal Ahmad

THE BLACKENING OF THE U.N.
A.W. Singham

FAMINE RELIEF
William Shawcross

WORLD INFORMATION ORDER
Herbert I. Schiller

DISARMAMENT
Marcus Raskin

THE U.N. REVISITED
Claude Bourdet

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LETTERS.

DECISIONS, DECISIONS

San Francisco, Calif.

If anyone is to receive the coveted Pompous Award this year, Alexander Cockburn leaves both Erwin Knoll and Nat Hentoff miles behind ["Beat the Devil," July 20/27; "Letters," Aug. 17/24].

I edit a small journal whose fare is politics and ideas, and I too have been faced with decisions about whether to accept advertisements that I didn't like and that I knew would infuriate many readers. To say that *The Progressive* ran abortion ads for the money is simply absurd. The fee Knoll received for those ads wouldn't pay the postage on all the letters he's had to write defending the decision.

Cockburn says Knoll's philosophy may lead to *The Progressive*'s accepting ads from the Ku Klux Klan. I say Cockburn's philosophy could as easily lead to refusing ads from *Mother Jones* because it was wrong about Newark.

Would I accept the abortion ad? I'd rather not have to decide. Maybe Knoll was wrong; I don't know. But to accuse him of erring on account of arrogance and greed is not only cruel, it is preposterous. *Tom Turner*
Not Man Apart

COCKBURN REPLIES

New York City

This is getting silly. If Knoll didn't do it for the money, why did he run the ad? I don't think even he would claim that he prints ads just to show how broad-minded he is. In the meantime, I recommend that offshore drillers and Japanese whale catchers submit ads to Tom Turner and thus concentrate his mind on the appropriate advertising policy for his periodical. *Alexander Cockburn*

'THE CHURCHMAN' SINCE 1804

St. Petersburg, Fla.

You would think that the oldest religious journal in the world, founded in 1804, would receive some recognition on its 181st year. But *The Churchman* has been completely ignored. There could be several reasons. One is that in addition to being critical of the church—all kinds—it is critical of the press. Also, it is run by a woman, one who has not succumbed to changing its name to *The Churchperson*.

Guy Emergy Shipler, *The Churchman*'s editor for nearly a half-century, believed a religious journal should be critical of the church and religion just as a secular journal should be critical of the government. Otherwise it can be categorized as a house organ. This is what the religious and secular press have largely become: house organs propagandizing for special denominations or special interests, especially the corporations.

Among *The Churchman*'s distinguished authors is the ace exponent of press freedom George Seldes, who began writing for the magazine in 1937, covering Spain's fight against fascism. Through the years (he is now in his 90s) he has written more than a dozen articles for *The Churchman*, an association he cultivated because of the magazine's honesty and its fearless attitude toward the power politics of the church.

Even though *The Nation* publishes some poignant articles criticizing the church, *The Churchman*, much to my delight, has done so more consistently, as is its role. Thomas O'Kelley's "Don't Give Me That Old Time Religion" and the Rev. Ben Fuson's "A Friendly Letter to a Bible-Preaching Minister" dissect the Bible and expose its inconsistencies. Every issue offers a perceptive analysis of society's plight and the problems of religion. Other articles discuss peace and disarmament issues and advocate friendly relations with the Soviet Union. As the logo states on every cover, the essence of the magazine is "a humanistic approach to religion, ethics and education."

I was bewildered, therefore, that the otherwise excellent piece by Victor Navasky in the June 8 issue of *The Nation*, "The Role of the Critical Journal," contained no reference to *The Churchman*, although it mentioned several other religious magazines. The article's reference to the "misconception that circulation is a measure of the influence of journals of opinion" was encouraging because *The Churchman* is a minority voice, even in the alternative press. Nevertheless, it reaches the unchurched, the peripheral, the thoughtful observer, the voter. "The little magazine," wrote Milton Mayer in *Center Report* some years ago, "is an educational institution. . . . The security of this nation as a democracy is first of all—some would say first and last—an enlightened populace." We like to think *The Churchman* fits into that genre. (For sample copies write: 1074 23rd Avenue North, St. Petersburg, FL 33704. Trial subscription $8.)
Edna Ruth Johnson
Editor, The Churchman

WHAT AN ACE!

New Paltz, N.Y.

Thanks to *The Nation* and crack columnist Alexander Cockburn for the exposé of the media cum neo-Fascist plot to co-opt accused Pope-assailant Ali Agca and, in so doing, to orchestrate still another [illegible] of the Soviet Union as the [illegible]al terrorism" ["Be[illegible] Cockburn's co[illegible] dogging of [illegible] refreshing [illegible] the Devil"

ARTHUR'S ARMY, CONT.

Perkins, Okla.

I don't know A.D. Coleman; I only know that what he writes of Arthur C. Danto is in error when he states that "he is one of the best" art critics ["Letters," Aug. 17/24].

We live ten miles from our mailbox in town. Our local postmistress, still called postmaster, knows us because of the extraordinary number of magazines to which we subscribe. This includes, I would like to presume, about every art journal—weekly, monthly and quarterly, domestic and foreign—that is available.

Danto is a prize. He is the best. He is quietly establishing a standard for art writing and comment that far surpasses the usual hackneyed term "criticism." With the addition of his column to the often cranky comments of Cockburn and the subtle humor of Trillin, *The Nation* has become priority reading.

Don't take him out of the back section, because I now begin reading your magazine from that end first, and when I'm done, when you are good enough and we are lucky enough, we save Danto to reread.

Again, thank you, thank you, thank you for Arthur Danto. *Ars longa*; South Africa, *contras*, Reagan, etc. *brevis*.
Stuart Van Orden

REQUIRED READING

Providence, R.I.

Elinor Langer's article offered the most succinct and humane analysis of the proliferation of the arms race and the need to stop it that I have read in some time ["The Moment Before," Aug. 3/10]. I was particularly happy to see her sentiments echoed by Anthony Lewis in his column in *The New York Times* of August 8. Even *Nation* readers get numbed politically at times, and passages such as the one offered by Christopher Isherwood in Langer's article stick out in our minds for some time. Her piece should be required reading for Congressional representatives and city council members across the country. *Nathaniel Moss*

AUTHOR'S QUERY

I am researching the life of Canadian-born Francis Marion (Ginty) Beynon, a New York City writer, feminist and pacifist who died in 1951. Janet Lord Roper (d. 1943) of the Seaman's Church Institute was among her acquaintances. Please contact me if you have any knowledge of Beynon or Roper.
Anne Hicks
Box 274
Stn. I
Kitchener, Ontario
Canada N2H 6N

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Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* David Acker, Christopher Bille, Carl Gottesman; *Nation Associates,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1985 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Office*: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington DC 20002 (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $40; two years, $72; six months, $20. Add $7 per year for postage in Canada, Mexico; $13 per year for other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publications date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

Global Talk Show?

After forty years, support for the United Nations in this country has never seemed at such a low ebb. But as pointed out in the introductory essay by Richard Falk, who served as de facto guest editor of this special issue, with A.W. Singham as consultant, U.N.-bashing has been a favorite sport of the American foreign policy establishment since the Charter was adopted. The harshest recent attacks on the world body have emanated from neoconservatives, including Jeane Kirkpatrick, who functioned as an agent provocateur during her tenure as U.S. ambassador. But progressives too have tended to deprecate those who champion the United Nations as sentimental do-gooders.

It is a mistake, however, to underestimate the importance of international institutions in promoting the goals of peace and justice. As new technologies proliferate—whether weapons systems or information systems—the dangers in-

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crease exponentially. We can no longer afford to have nations colliding like dodgem cars under a laissez-faire theory of international relations. Global norms and institutions are imperative.

But, critics ask, what has all that to do with the weak, fractious, U.S.-baiting talkfest on the East River? The answer to that is, Whatever the United Nations' flaws, the bludgeonings it has received from the Reagan Administration—largely for domestic political purposes—have been wildly irrational. To name a few instances: the United States' lonely vote against the banning of infant formula preparations in the Third World; Washington's refusal to sign the meticulously drafted Law of the Sea Convention; the petulant withdrawal from Unesco; and the contempt of the World Court after the United States had been caught mining Nicaragua's harbors and supporting aggression against the Sandinista government.

The abstrusities of international law and the claims of power politics aside, the United Nations is valuable as a meeting place for people of different nations and cultures. To offer but one example, consider the recent conference in Nairobi, Kenya, which served as the culmination of the U.N. Decade for Women. While the official U.S. delegation, chaired by Maureen Reagan, went about her father's business, the important action was at the Non-Governmental Organization Forum, where 13,000 women from all over the world met from July 10 to 19. At some 200 daily workshops, delegates considered the situation of women in their countries and what they could do about global issues of peace, imperialism and revolution. In colloquys between Israeli and Palestinian women or discussions on feminism in socialist countries like Cuba, Nicaragua, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and China, the participants learned what they share and what divide them. The conference brought together people who do not normally talk to one another. Out of such networks political movements grow to maturity. This is the United Nations at its best in a sad, imperfect world: jaw-jaw instead of war-war, in Winston Churchill's phrase; a forum for directly addressing, among other things, the bedeviling problems that drive nations into the madness of war. Happy fortieth, U.N.

Loss of Momentum

At some point in the past several months President Reagan discarded the strategic offense by which he had been redirecting American foreign policy and turned to the familiar tactical defense deployed by every President, Republican or Democrat, for almost twenty years. Reagan's first term was marked, in foreign affairs, by the development of a counterrevolutionary campaign in Central America, the conquest of Grenada, the dispatch of ships and soldiers to the Middle East, the deployment of threatening missiles in Europe and the revival of aid to insurgency movements aimed at old enemies in Indochina and Angola. Unlike his recent predecessors, however, Reagan did not merely respond to Soviet initiatives, Third World revolutions or regional wars. Time after time he sought to seize the initiative, to set the terms by which international relations would be conducted, to make preemptive strikes and capture the high ground.

Now Reagan is twisting in winds produced by forces far from home. His program of support for the apartheid government is a shambles, and the sanctions announced last week were designed to head off domestic revolt rather than to influence the course of events in South Africa. In his relations with the Russians, Reagan has been put at an enormous disadvantage as the November summit approaches. In Tom Wicker's words, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is "running rings around Reagan"—not only in the public relations game, which is far less important than the White House portrays it, but in the organization of a political offensive for the next stage of the great-power struggle.

Gorbachev's interview with the top editors of *Time* expressed a cunning, often brilliant sense of strategy. He never missed a beat, never seemed disingenuous, evasive or demagogic. He repeated the point, in different ways at several junctures, that growth and reform in the Soviet economy are entirely dependent on improvements in relations with the United States, not only for reasons of finance but also because domestic priorities are inevitably subverted by international pressures. He suggested that the same was true for the United States, though we have yet to hear President Reagan addressing his priorities problem and ours.

The Russians have offered this country a nuclear testing moratorium, a deal to trade Star Wars research for major strategic arms reductions and, in talks last week between Gorbachev and Johannes Rau, governor of North Rhine-Westphalia, West Germany, a "free zone" in Europe where chemical and biological weapons would be banned. Reagan rejected all of them before discussion and debate could begin, with absurd charges of Communist propaganda, as if any diplomatic deals could be offered, much less struck, in a public-opinion vacuum.

Now that he is in a defensive mode, Reagan is consumed with the tactics and the ephemera of P.R. He postponed the decision on whether to give Arab governments $40 million in military aid until after the Jewish high holy days. He framed his announcement of antisatellite weapons tests as a response to Soviet peace overtures. He has been caught off guard by events he would never have allowed to happen in his first term: Canada's withdrawal from the Star Wars program is one striking example. He failed to do basic organizing work among even his most loyal allies when he moved against Greece and Lebanon during the Beirut hostage crisis, thus losing the support that was necessary to carry out even modest strictures. The same is likely to be true with his puny sanctions against Pretoria.

To say that Reagan has redefined his approach to foreign affairs does not imply that he has become less dangerous. Richard Nixon was on the defensive in 1972—after de-escalation, Vietnamization and the collapse of the international monetary system—when he ordered the Christmas bombing of North Vietnam. Jimmy Carter was reeling from

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the fall of the Shah, the Iranian hostage crisis and the Soviet march into Afghanistan when he canceled U.S. participation in the Olympics, abandoned SALT II and began to wage the second cold war. Although Reagan may have lost the forward motion in foreign policy that so cheered his constituency at home and terrorized much of the rest of the world, he has lost none of his power nor one tenet of his ideology. Reaganauts still dream of rollback; but they have now been met with countervailing realities, and their grand strategy may be stymied before it can remake their world.

Silent Reproach

Like all dictators, Pakistan's President Zia ul-Haq is a bully; and like all bullies, he is afraid. How else to explain his panicky order placing Benazir Bhutto under house arrest? Head of the banned Pakistan People's Party and daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, whom General Zia threw out of office and later ordered hanged, Bhutto returned to her homeland last month after a long exile. She accompanied the body of her brother Shahnawaz, a leader of the Pakistan resistance movement, who died mysteriously in France. Although she held to her pledge not to make political speeches, her brother's funeral drew 50,000 mourners, and Zia saw it as a symbolic defiance of his eight-year reign.

In April, while on a tour of the United States, Bhutto spoke to *Nation* interns and staff. We all were impressed by the force and intelligence of this 32-year-old woman, and we believe it was not only fear of her father's political ghost that caused Zia to lock her up. She criticized the U.S. strategic policy that props up Zia with billions of dollars' worth of military aid, and predicted it would backfire against U.S. interests because it ignores the democratic aspirations of the Pakistani people.

According to Abdullah Riar, a member of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Pakistan People's Party in the United States, Bhutto is in virtual solitary confinement. Not even members of her family can visit her, and her telephone has been disconnected.

Bhutto returned to Pakistan after receiving a promise from Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo that she would not be molested. Her arrest casts serious doubt on the possibility of an end to martial law next January, as Junejo has also pledged. When Zia overruled Junejo's promise to Bhutto, he left no doubt about his disdain for even the meagerest trappings of democracy. But he also shows that he fears something is gaining on him. That something is embodied in the silent, reproachful presence of Benazir Bhutto.

NEXT WEEK

Penny Lernoux on the Miskitos, Part II

Daniel Singer on French racism

The ASAT 'Stick'

One of the best-kept secrets in Washington is the military's opposition to antisatellite weapons. Unfortunately, Congress has not been listening to what the generals and admirals are saying.

One of the first to voice his reservations was Gen. Charles Gabriel, the Air Force Chief of Staff. In his testimony before the House Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations in March 1984, Gabriel said he favored a verifiable treaty banning ASATs. "Because we are an open society," he said, "we need our space capabilities more than the Soviets do." To understand this point fully, one must realize that current ASATs can destroy only low-altitude satellites. Should a race to develop them continue, however, the Soviet Union and the United States would surely achieve the capability to destroy high-altitude "birds." That would hurt the U.S. side far more than it would the Soviet because of America's greater dependence on satellites for military command, control and communications. Also, "technical means" (another term for satellites) enable U.S. intelligence to monitor the Soviet Union's every military move, which includes tracking its nuclear missiles.

Gabriel is not alone. In August of that year several admirals anonymously told *The New York Times* that they shared his reservations. The Navy relies on satellites for precise navigation and position-finding, which are crucial to the accuracy of Trident sea-launched missiles. And naval communications would be vulnerable to Soviet satellite destroyers, says Adm. Noel Gayler, retired, the only high-ranking Navy officer to speak for the record.

The ranks of military professionals who are skeptical about the ASAT plan's desirability include officers whose pet projects would benefit directly from a crash development program. Even though some of the technologies being considered for Star Wars would be tested with the ASATs, Lieut. Gen. James A. Abrahamson, director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization, which reports directly to Caspar Weinberger, has not opposed a moratorium. A halt, Abrahamson says, "would not be absolutely devastating. . . . we would just have to be prepared to [take] more time" on perfecting Star Wars weaponry.

The big push for ASAT tests has come from civilians in the Pentagon and in the White House. The Reaganites want a successful ASAT test before the November summit talks between Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev so that the President won't be forced to "negotiate from weakness." True, a single test—especially one that is three years behind schedule—does not prove the system is workable. But the Soviet Union's ASAT capability is widely acknowledged to be outmoded. The danger of a moratorium to U.S. security is negligible compared with that posed by more advanced weapons, and it would provide an opportunity to work out a treaty that would halt their development. Unfortunately, the White House hawks have decided that posturing is more important than negotiating.

KAI BIRD AND MAX HOLLAND

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BEAT THE DEVIL.

Remember the Maine

As a warm-up for the summit talks this fall, everyone should read the summer issue of *International Security*, which contains an absorbing presentation by Marc Trachtenberg of how U.S. leaders, notably the Kennedy brothers, comported themselves during the tense days and hours of the Cuban missile crisis. Trachtenberg bases his report on eighteen tapes of White House meetings and minutes of meetings of the executive committee of the National Security Council.

The raw data contradict most previous accounts of the incident, including that of Arthur O. Schlesinger Jr., whose portrayal of Robert Kennedy as a dove in the crisis hours turns out to have been far wide of the mark. Actually, Bobby argued for an invasion.

What mainly comes through in the transcripts is a lot of dunderheads, tottering between ignorance and folly:

> McGEORGE BUNDY: I would think one thing that I would still cling to is that he's [Khrushchev] not likely to give Fidel Castro nuclear warheads. I don't believe that has happened or is likely to happen.
>
> JFK: Why does he put these in there though?
>
> BUNDY: Soviet-controlled nuclear warheads [of the kind?] . . .
>
> JFK: That's right, but what is the advantage of that? It's just as if we suddenly began to put a major number of MRBMs [medium-range ballistic missiles] in Turkey. Now that'd be goddam dangerous, I would think.
>
> BUNDY?: Well, we *did*, Mr. President.
>
> U.A. JOHNSON?: We *did* it. We . . .
>
> JFK: Yeah, but that was five years ago.
>
> . . .
>
> RFK: . . .one other thing is whether, uh, we should also think of, uh, uh, whether there is some *other* way we can get involved in this through, uh, Guantanamo Bay, or something, er, or whether there's some ship that, you know, sink the *Maine* again or something.

The Secret Refugees

As with almost all U.S. reporting on matters connected with El Salvador, the coverage of the Honduran raid on the Colomancagua refugee camp on August 29 was disappointing. In his first dispatch, on September 5, James LeMoyne of *The New York Times* indicated that the United States had been eager to close this camp, and cited one U.S. relief worker as saying a blond North American had participated in the attack, which left two Salvadoran refugees dead, thirteen wounded and twenty-five seriously beaten. On September 7 a U.P.I. story in *The Boston Globe* quoted Catholic Church sources as saying two persons in U.S. military uniforms had been present. Although one would think it was a story *The Times* would be anxious to confirm, LeMoyne's second dispatch, of September 7, made no mention either way.

Both Colomancagua and Mesa Grande, the two main Salvadoran refugee camps in Honduras—each holding about 10,000 people—have long been the objects of intense U.S. pressure, directed through the Honduran government and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (U.N.H.C.R.), which superintends the camps.

The reasons are simple enough. In the first place, the refugees have tried, with some success, to make them into models of a free El Salvador. As a 50-year-old Salvadoran woman told one visitor, Professor Eric Patterson of Hobart and William Smith Colleges (my source for much of this material), "There [in El Salvador] we knew nothing. We only had machetes. . . . But here we have learned how to read. We now know the reasons for our misery. Here the people have also learned to speak and act."

In the case of Colomancagua the United States has a practical reason to dislodge the refugees. Located south of Tegucigalpa and about four miles from the border, Colomancagua overlooks the Salvadoran province of Morazán and indeed almost all El Salvador. Patterson told me that from the camp he could see in the distance the lights of San Salvador. Relief workers have described seeing Honduran planes cross the border in support of Salvadoran Army counterinsurgency operations. The refugees who have managed to make their way to Colomancagua, avoiding the Honduran border guards who seek to turn them back, thus have the pleasure of watching their villages being destroyed in the so-called secret air war and witnessing Honduran cooperation in the strikes. (Last week the United States sent twelve more gunships to El Salvador, amid absolutely no expressions of concern in the press.) Colomancagua is regarded as a security risk.

U.S. military advisers in Honduras plan to convert the site to a spotting station, which will assist in the killing of more Salvadorans and the further destruction of their villages. One idea is to shift the refugees to a new camp at Olanchito, a two-day journey by car. Olanchito is attractive to the United States and its Honduran client: owing to its remoteness it will not be so available a sanctuary for Salvadorans, and the refugees already in Honduras will be at the mercy of the Honduran and Salvadoran military units being trained by the United States at the Puerto Castillo military base near Olanchito. Another plan, mooted this summer, is to return all the refugees to El Salvador.

The U.N.H.C.R. has succumbed cravenly to U.S. pressure. International health-care workers have been encouraged to economize on medicine, the idea apparently being to cause health conditions to deteriorate, thus making it easier to justify the move to Olanchito. The U.N.H.C.R. has also cut back on food supplies and closed down the facilities for raising rabbits and chickens, which provide vital protein for the refugees' diet. Refugee workers protesting these tactics have had their contracts canceled and have been replaced by people from the Honduran Evangelical Committee for Development and National Emergency, which is controlled by conservative groups and has ties to the political arm of the Honduran military. When asked by Patterson about the refugee workers who had protested, Alfredo del Rio of the U.N.H.C.R. office in Tegucigalpa said, "You must under-

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

stand, these people are not neutral—they have sided with the refugees."

If U.S. personnel took part in last week's murderous assault, it would not have been the first time. There are many accounts of past U.S. involvement in refugee abuse—see, for example, Renato Camarda's book, *Forced to Move*. The reporters and news teams who were so quick to go to refugee zones on the Cambodian-Thai border should hurry to Colomancagua, where they can have a fine view of the secret war and talk to its survivors, before the United States causes these victims to become refugees for the second time.

'To Get Rich Fast Is Glorious'

The inexorable passage of the seasons should at least bring relief from Anthony Lewis's columns from the People's Republic of China, which have been rendering the Op-Ed page of *The New York Times* more tiresome than usual. Lewis's dispatches have taken the familiar form of the Westerner discerning, and applauding, the revival of capitalist norms in a socialist economy. Prose of this sort is always full of phrases like "individual initiative," "profit motive" and "Western-style entrepreneurial vigor," contrasted with "regimentation," "stifling bureaucratic restraints," "Marxist dogma" and so forth.

There's nothing new in Lewis's reports. Almost all Western journalists now write about the "reforms" in glowing terms, just as they wrote a decade ago about the happy commune dwellers. But one wonders whether Lewis ever feels a certain irony in all these paeans to the return of free enterprise. When he gets home, why doesn't he go out to a sweatshop in Brooklyn and rejoice at the spectacle of free enterprise liberated from the gray authoritarian hand of I.L.G.W.U. contracts?

The reforms in China may be all very well in the short term, but what happens a little further down the track, when the need for large-scale mechanization collides with strip farming in the form of the little privately operated peasant plots hymned by Lewis and the others? History provides us with at least one instructive example. And of course the small plots, symbols of the entrepreneurial spirit, sustain the female infanticide that was immemorially a feature of the Chinese countryside. As Lewis might have put it:

> *Proudly* the simple peasant showed me his *private plot* where he grows the vegetables he is *now able to sell for himself* in the local town. And *smilingly* he gestured at the row of tiny graves where he has *buried* the female infants who would only have been a hindrance to him, in his new *Western-style* economic freedom. *Joyfully* he pointed at the muscular *boy* helping him at the backbreaking labor.

The Deng Xiaoping regime has lowered the child-per-family limit from two to one. With a policy encouraging large communes, the allure of female infanticide would be diminished; the coincidence of the one-child limit and the small peasant plots (symbolic of the new slogan "To get rich fast is glorious") greatly increases the motivation to persist in the traditional slaughter of female offspring.

More on Sydney

Another aspect of Western-style economic freedom it would be interesting to hear Lewis and the rest of his Op-Ed cellmates discuss is the undoubted privilege of *New York Times* proprietor Punch Sulzberger to cancel Sydney Schanberg's column about New York City. Schanberg, as all the world knows, had caused grave offense to Sulzberger and, indeed, to Sulzberger's relatives by writing frankly about the horrors of the Western-style economic boondoggle called Westway (whose advisory committee is chaired by Punch's sister Marian). It will be interesting to see how long Sulzberger will endure the fiery denunciations of Westway on the Op-Ed page by his cousin John Oakes, whom he dislodged from the post of editorial page editor in 1976 for opposing the paper's endorsement of Daniel Patrick Moynihan in the senatorial primary.

Down With Evenhandedness

The defeat sustained by Jesse Jackson at the hands of Jerry Falwell in the September 4 *Nightline* debate on South Africa provides a number of lessons. First, our side has simply got to stop apologizing. Every time Falwell invoked the Communist menace and asked the audience if it would care to see the red flag flying over Cape Town, Jackson ran for cover. Lesson number two: Defy their premises.

> FALWELL: If there is a Soviet-Cuban takeover in South Africa——
>
> JACKSON: Stop right there. Standards of health, education and nutrition are higher in Cuba than anywhere on the Latin American continent, Reverend Falwell. If the average South African black were to wake up in Cuba, he would think he had gone to heaven.
>
> FALWELL: What about Ethiopia, Reverend Jackson?
>
> JACKSON: Well, what about Ethiopia, Reverend Falwell? Let's talk about conditions in Ethiopia when the U.S. supported Haile Selassie there. Let's talk about Uganda after your friends in Israel had installed Idi Amin. Let's talk about Zaire, shall we, Reverend Falwell?
>
> FALWELL: Who does Bishop Tutu represent?
>
> JACKSON: Who do you represent?

The trouble with progressives is that they always panic at the sight of the Red-baiter's paintbrush. This is what finished off the nuclear freeze movement.

Lesson number three: Evenhandedness becomes a degenerative disease. Consider Tom Wicker on September 9. He wrote, "Beginning with the Soviet leader's proposal for a moratorium on nuclear testing——" Hold it right there, Wicker! Gorbachev didn't *propose* a moratorium. He *initiated* a unilateral Soviet freeze on testing. Later on, Wicker wrote, "The test proposal might be tricky and propagandistic." This, once again, is the sound of two even hands clapping. Why not say that the Soviet Union has commenced a unilateral testing moratorium for a period consequent on U.S. actions? The Wicker mindset leads to people writing: "In a deft propaganda victory, black youths placed themselves at the mercy of white South African police whips, under the eyes of the Western media."

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ARTICLES.

INTRODUCTION

The United Nations After 40 Years

RICHARD FALK

Forty years after the founding of the United Nations, we tend to forget that it has never enjoyed smooth sailing. The Soviet Union was wary from the outset, fearing it would find itself in the minority on controversial issues and refusing, in any event, to acknowledge any authority higher than party and state. Europe was weakened by the devastation of World War II, but its main leaders, Winston Churchill and Gen. Charles de Gaulle, were traditionalists in international relations, deeply suspicious of idealistic schemes not rooted in the materialistic calculations of power politics.

There was also considerable skepticism and concern in U.S. leadership circles at the time, especially behind the scenes. The establishment of the United Nations and its location in New York City were enthusiastically praised. The central undertaking of the U.N. Charter—"to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war"—was ardently endorsed on official occasions.

Yet to a large degree this was window dressing, part of a public posture struck to reassure war-weary Americans that diplomacy would now be devoted to keeping the peace. The main architects of American participation in the postwar world were at least as suspicious, or "realistic," about the United Nations as were their European counterparts. In his memoirs, *Present at the Creation*, Dean Acheson, who was Assistant Secretary of State in 1945, wrote that the greatest postwar diplomatic challenge at the end of World War II was to persuade the American people and their elected leaders to turn from "two contrary and equally unrealistic ideas . . . isolationism [and] the dream of universal law and internationally enforced peace, embodied and embalmed in the League of Nations and resurrected in the United Nations."

Also influential behind the scenes was George Kennan, an expert on the Russians who was then in the Foreign Service. Kennan was preoccupied at the end of the war with the need to dispel the illusion that victory over fascism would lead to peace and harmony in international relations. Convinced that American public opinion must be prepared for the coming struggle with the Soviet Union for primacy in the postwar world, he believed that investing too much hope in the United Nations would divert attention from the overriding need to meet the Soviet challenge. Kennan summarized his outlook toward the United Nations at the time:

> I was not, in 1944, strongly averse to the establishment of a new world organization, per se. It was not greatly needed, I thought, but if pursued realistically, with a clear recognition of its obvious limitations, it would do no harm.

Even Franklin Roosevelt did not believe that the world organization could bring peace, security and justice to all states. Rather, he hoped it would sustain wartime cooperation with the Soviet Union in the postwar world through entrusting the "four horsemen" (the United States, Soviet Union, Britain and France) with a global supervisory role. That "realism" included an acceptance of great-power spheres of influence and the indefinite subordination of dominated and dependent peoples. At best, the United Nations could provide a framework for great-power cooperation which was flawed because it overrode the sovereign rights of the small and weak countries. This image of a postwar world order based on the cooperation of the powers died with F.D.R. His successor, Harry Truman, moved quickly to adopt a cold war frame of reference, encouraged every step of the way by such principal advisers as Acheson, Kennan and Secretary of State James Byrnes.

The United Nations, then, was created in an atmosphere of ambivalence. The powerful states looked elsewhere for the preservation of their vital interests. The West, in particular, was preoccupied with girding itself for the anticipated rivalry with the Soviet Union over Europe, while the East was indifferent to the new organization. Western leaders saw "weakness" and "appeasement" (the lesson of Munich) as the greatest threat to peace, not an arms race. As a result, the foreign policy emphasis was quickly shifted to a diplomacy of alliance-building which reached its apogee during the 1950s, under Dwight Eisenhower and his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. Such polarized geopolitics were almost the antithesis of the spirit and logic of the universal peace organization embodied in the U.N. Charter.

In the United States there exists a persisting myth that for many years the United Nations enjoyed the undivided support of the American government, that it had its chance and failed. To mainstream opinion, "having its chance" meant independently ratifying the U.S. vision of world order, which after 1948 meant largely the containment of Communism. The United Nations was looked on benignly so long as it did Washington's bidding, an attitude that peaked during the Korean War, when it provided a cloak for American intervention. As the decolonialization process proceeded and the United Nations became more representative of the nations of the world and their aspirations, there was a gradual loosening of the American grip. It was still tight enough to perpetuate the fiction that China was governed from Taiwan, not Beijing. For more than two decades after the defeat of the Chinese nationalists, in 1949, Mao's revolutionary leadership was denied its right to represent China in the United Nations.

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The American commitment to the United Nations in this early period was not solely motivated by expediency. The norms barring aggression were taken seriously as a way of avoiding the historic mistake of appeasement. An impressive demonstration of this commitment was Eisenhower's refusal to support Britain, France and Israel when they invaded Egypt in 1956. The insistence that the Charter applied to friends as well as enemies was particularly notable in view of President Gamal Abdel Nasser's militantly anti-Western views, which were an irritant to the White House. Almost simultaneously, the brutal reality of the Soviet presence in Eastern Europe was dramatized in the bloody suppression of the Hungarian uprising. That event provided a reminder that even after Stalin's death the Soviet Union threatened Western values and institutions in a fundamental manner that could not be ignored.

It is also true that the United States delivered on its internationalist claims by paying a disproportionate share of the United Nations' bills. Those financial contributions helped the specialized agencies of the organization develop ambitious programs in a variety of areas, including health, disaster relief and the preservation of cultural treasures. In return, the United States expected a greater appreciation of its role in enabling the United Nations to function—or at least not a slap in the face. But that is what it got in the growing anti-Western attitudes expressed in the specialized agencies. He who paid the fiddler was made increasingly uncomfortable by the tune.

Thus, after forty years, this country is passing through a phase of acute disenchantment with the United Nations. The depth of this feeling is perhaps exaggerated by the extreme anti-U.N. animus of the Reagan Administration. The Reaganites are intensely hostile to any form of international cooperation that does not benefit corporate capitalism and a militarist foreign policy. They scuttled a decade of negotiations under U.N. auspices on the Law of the Sea Convention, which had won many concessions for the advanced industrial countries and came close to being a model of how a global bargain should be constructed. Similarly, when Nicaragua took its complaints against Washington to the World Court, the United States adopted a defiant attitude. (When the Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran used similar tactics to avoid the authority of the Court during the hostage crisis it was branded "barbaric" by the Carter Administration.)

Nevertheless, Reagan's brand of anti-internationalism is probably a temporary phenomenon. U.S. disenchantment with the United Nations cuts far deeper. In the 1970s, when John Scali and then Daniel Patrick Moynihan served as representatives to the United Nations, Washington decided to go on the offensive against the Third World, opposing pleas for a new international economic order and for applying greater pressure on South Africa and Israel. In effect, by the mid-1970s the political mainstream in the United States flowed into an anti-U.N. channel. I believe the turning point came in the 1960s, when Secretary General U Thant opposed American intervention in Vietnam and Israel's position on the role of U.N. forces in the Middle East. U Thant's views reflected Third World attitudes, as well as the precepts of the U.N. Charter. In essence, when aggression was being committed by the United States or Israel there was no concern in Washington about appeasement. The lesson of Munich, so well learned by realists, was not, under any circumstances, to be interpreted as a counsel of self-restraint.

Disenchantment took hold on other grounds. The U.N. civil service has been overpaid and has often engaged in a display of conspicuous consumption that is unseemly, in view of its lofty mission to fight mass misery and exploitation in the world. Beyond that, there has been a tendency for statesmen, especially from Third World countries, to deliver lectures on justice to the West within the halls of the United Nations while torturing their opponents and ignoring poor people at home. An impression of hypocrisy was fostered, not entirely unfounded, among those who were footing the bills. This impression quite naturally goaded those elements in American political life, including the Reaganites, that had always opposed the United Nations.

Having stressed this deep-running current of disenchantment, is there anything positive to be said about the United Nations? It is fruitless to speculate about what the world would be like if the United Nations never existed or had fallen by the wayside. Yet the organization deserves some credit for the achievements of the postwar world. The continued participation of all major states, despite many grounds for withdrawal, is a strong affirmation of its continuing usefulness. The Communist countries, in particular, might easily have succumbed to the temptation to walk out. The organization has not been evenhanded in dealing with their grievances about Western abuses, especially in its early years. Similarly, one might have expected South Africa and Israel to withdraw in view of their claims that the United Nations ignores their rights. The only nation to consider withdrawal seriously was Indonesia, in the 1960s, when Achmed Sukarno proclaimed the formation of a rival organization that, he said, would better serve Third World aspirations. His initiative attracted no firm support and quickly collapsed with Sukarno in his fall from power. Even the Reagan Administration has used the threat of withdrawal only as a tactic to gain greater leverage over U.N. agencies like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Not even Jeane Kirkpatrick has suggested disavowing the organization as a whole.

The United Nations, then, is considered useful even by governments that are unhappy about the drift of its policy decisions. As a site for diplomatic interaction in a world that is increasingly interdependent, it seems assured of a future and a near-universal membership.

Beyond that, enumerating the organization's achievements becomes a more controversial exercise. In the foreground, though, must be a recognition that during four decades of conflict and turmoil nuclear war has been avoided. Although the United Nations cannot claim all the credit, its machinery has been used by world leaders in periods of acute crisis. Another plus is the consistent and energetic support the world body has given to the anticolonial movement,

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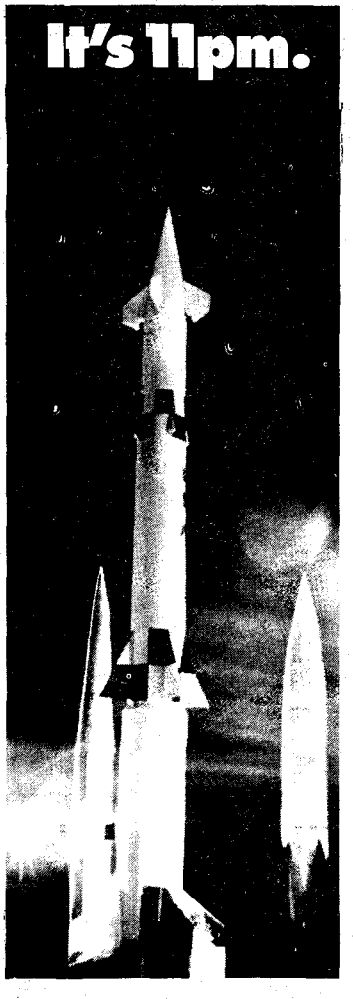
thereby hastening the process of independence for some countries. Both superpowers pay lip service in international forums to the Charter ideals of self-determination and to the struggle against colonial rule. This international consensus may have bolstered those groups in France, Britain and other colonial powers that favored self-rule, and as a result made the transition to independence less traumatic for all parties.

The United Nations has clearly succeeded in raising public consciousness about the world problems of unchecked population growth, the arms race, environmental degradation, poverty, resource depletion and the oppression of women and children. The global awareness that the planet is endangered is a direct consequence of a series of dramatic conferences held under U.N. auspices, the most recent of which, on the status of women, took place this summer. These conferences not only educate governments and the media; they provide a focus for the more militant activities of a vast network of voluntary associations that have sprung up around the world in the past forty years. In some respects the counterconferences these groups hold are more productive than the official gatherings, but the former could not exist without the latter. Besides, the official declarations and plans of action would be even more bland if governments were not goaded by citizens' groups. A prototype was the 1972 U.N. Conference on the Human Environment, in Stockholm, which raised consciousness, exposed governmental inertia, disclosed the power and influence of polluters and demonstrated the limited capacity of the United Nations to solve international problems even when ideological issues are not center stage.

Overall, it is appropriate to credit the United Nations with helping identify world problems and putting them on the political agenda. That is as true for issues such as "desertification" or famine as it is for Palestinian self-determination or human rights. That the United Nations by itself cannot provide solutions to large-scale international conflicts is not surprising. It lacks financial resources, and the articles in the Charter providing for an independent peacekeeping force have been deliberately ignored by the major powers. In essence, the governments that created the organization have refused to abridge their sovereign rights to the extent of giving international institutions autonomous problem-solving capacity. For that reason, the United Nations is neither better nor worse than the states that control its purse strings, and hence its operations. It is a reflection of their political will, and because the chief states have veto power, there is limited political space for action. That is why the most important field for U.N. operations has often been on the level of consciousness. This observation is not intended in the spirit of scorn adopted by the organization's harshest critics. The moral and political climate of international life can modify attitudes and behavior over time. Consider how the long process of U.N. condemnation of racial discrim-



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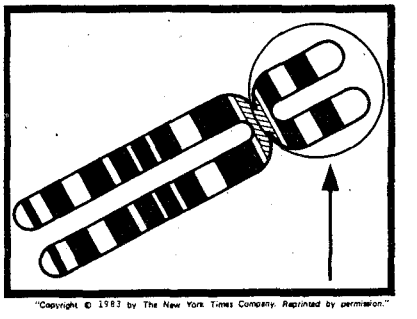

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ination has mobilized pressures, even by conservative countries, against South African apartheid.

An understanding that the United Nations is fundamentally an extension of the nation-state system, not an alternative to it, will make realists of us all. The key to an enhanced role for the United Nations lies in international politics, not good will or "globaloney." Much depends on whether superpower rivalry can be moderated. In this regard, progress toward a European settlement by way of both parts of the 1975 Helsinki accords—validating existing boundaries and promoting human rights—was a crucial step toward disengaging the United States and Soviet Union in the one area of the world where their armed forces face each other. The next step, not likely given the present atmosphere but seriously advocated by European peace forces East and West, is the phased withdrawal of American and Soviet occupation forces from Europe. In effect, bringing the postwar era to a fitting close by bringing the troops home.

If we want the United Nations to play a bigger part in world affairs, we have to explore seriously the possibility of improving other aspects of the East-West relationship. In addition to a peace treaty for Europe, there must be a cessation of the nuclear arms race (achieved through a sequence of no-first-use pledges, followed by a comprehensive test ban, destruction of first-strike weapons and an overall freeze); renunciation of interventionary diplomacy in the Third World (in both Nicaragua and Afghanistan); and a serious exploration of what Mikhail Gorbachev's call for a live-and-let-live approach to international relations would mean in practice. If, for instance, that approach is intended to exonerate Soviet and American interventions, it is not an acceptable basis for East-West collaboration.

If superpower tensions can be moderated, the United Nations might gradually gain the confidence of the major powers, enabling it to attack the problems of the weak and deprived, as well as to implement policies directed at solving such global problems as pollution and refugee relief. Desperate famine conditions threaten to take as many as 30 million lives in Africa over the next few years. Moreover, the climactic stage of the great movement to eliminate apartheid may be at hand. In both areas the United Nations is playing a critical consciousness-raising role; but in a more cooperative international climate it could do far more.

Looming over the world economy is the multidimensional debt and trade crisis which menaces the development plans, social policies and political independence of most Third World countries. It forces governments to adopt austerity measures in the face of massive poverty, leading to popular unrest and government repression. This helps explain the spread of authoritarianism in the Third World. The debt crisis also imperils the stability of the banking and monetary systems, creating a general condition of precariousness in international life. In a calmer world, the United Nations could

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provide a framework for compromise and adjustment that would include fundamental reforms of the trade, money and investment structures established after World War II under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Without reforms that bring both stability and fairness, the outlook for the global economy is bleak indeed. An economic collapse would produce a worldwide depression, heightening the risk of war.

With ideological zeal the Reagan Administration has attacked the "quiet," or functional, side of the United Nations. Such an attack is pure irrationality in an interdependent world. To oppose regulating the seas, outer space and the rest of the environment for the common good is to court self-destruction and to hamper trade and development that could benefit all parts of the world. The deleterious impact of the Reagan policies points up how important the attitudes of governments of key nations are to the prospects for global reform. Even though U.S. disenchantment with the United Nations is deeper and wider than Reaganism, there is no doubt that a more liberal President would allow the organization at least to deal with the many items on the quiet agenda of international life.

It is unlikely that governments, operating in the highly militarized atmosphere of domestic and international politics, will take advantage of the United Nations' potential and address the central concerns of international life. For this to happen, progressive social movements like West Germany's Green Party must gain power, or at least influence their governments. Until the present political obstacles are removed, support for a dramatically expanded U.N. role is unlikely. With a supportive membership, the United Nations could assume its rightful role of facilitating cooperation among sovereign states in their mutual interest. This cooperation is the only alternative to a future beset by terrorism—violent encounters between the desperation of the weak and the greed and rigidity of the strong.

The long-term challenge is to make the United Nations of, by and for the peoples of the world. Unless popular pressure can make governing institutions at all levels of social organization responsive to the imperatives of law and justice, the full political and ethical significance of global interdependence will be unrealized. We can best celebrate this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations by understanding that the greatest of all challenges is not only to revitalize democracy at home but to extend its reach overseas. In this regard we in the West must resume and extend the struggle for constitutionalism that began long ago with the efforts to constrain royalism within a framework of law and accountability.

These goals can become realistic only if citizens of the major countries adopt them as their own. Every important extension of justice and order has resulted from the struggle of those who felt oppressed by existing arrangements of power and realized that something better is possible in human affairs. The mission of the United Nations, despite the failures and limitations of the organization as a political actor, continues to be a source of hope to those in all parts of the world who seek something better, which these days means above all else challenging the dominion exercised over our individual and collective destinies by the mechanisms of state power. □

AMERICA AND THE U.N.

A Cause Worth Fighting For

CHARLES WILLIAM MAYNES

Has the American attitude toward the United Nations changed radically in recent years? Many commentators believe that it has, and they cite several pieces of evidence: a recent rash of books and articles critical of the United Nations; the forces in Congress, led by Senator Nancy Kassebaum, who are determined to slash the U.S. monetary contribution to the international body; and the Reagan Administration's unprecedented hostility toward it. Paradoxically, the American public's attitude toward the United Nations remains positive. Indeed, polls have consistently shown that roughly 75 percent of the respondents disagree with the proposition that it was a mistake for the United States to have joined the United Nations.

How, then, can we explain the general feeling that the public attitude has changed? The answer lies in the shifting views of the American foreign policy elite—policymakers, diplomats and academic specialists. When the United Nations was founded, many in this group viewed the emergence of international rules and institutions that placed some restraints on behavior among states as a positive step. Others were skeptical but avoided any public criticism of the United Nations because popular support for it was helpful in their campaign against a return to isolationism. And occasionally the organization was useful to the American foreign policy establishment as a diplomatic instrument—for example, at the beginning of the Korean War, during the fighting in the Congo and in the Cuban missile crisis.

In recent years, however, the attitude of America's foreign policy elite toward the United Nations has alternated between indifference and opposition. Particularly during the early 1970s, the group developed intense animosity toward the Third World and considered the United Nations as the latter's home turf.

The reasons for the hostility are several. The Third World supported Vietnam in the humiliating defeat it inflicted on American arms. Third World solidarity with the rapacious oil producers first mystified and then angered America's policy elite. Third World attitudes toward the Middle East were also crucial. The American Jewish community had been at the forefront of the progressive sections of the inter-

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nationalist coalition that came together in this country at the end of World War II. Third World support for the Palestinians, especially at the United Nations, divided that community and deprived the coalition of a vital source of leadership and funds. Finally, we cannot overlook America's past. An important part of this country's history concerns the troubled relationship between whites and nonwhites—blacks, Indians and Mexicans. U.S. diplomacy suffers from a curious oscillation of attitudes toward the Third World, from irrational right-wing bellicosity to ineffectual left-wing guilt.

Given such attitudes among the elite, it is not surprising that it is almost impossible to hold a serious professional meeting on the United Nations. One attracts either old U.N. hands or representatives of constituencies that are angry with it—pro-Israel activists, press groups miffed at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and so on. There are many more study groups set up to develop strategies for weakening the United Nations than for strengthening it. Few foundations will give significant funding to U.N.-related projects, and the big academic names in international relations find it hard to persuade their promising students to embark on a career in the field.

People on the left side of the political spectrum have treated these developments as matters of secondary importance. Some praise the work of particular U.N. agencies, but generally they do not regard the organization's overall plight as a critical problem compared with others the nation faces.

That attitude would be little cause for concern except that symbols play an important role in politics. As Inis Claude pointed out in his classic 1955 textbook, *Swords into Plowshares*, "The United Nations system, like the League, found its philosophical origins in liberalism." That is why the Heritage Foundation, the intellectual home of "respectable" conservatives, has devoted so much of its budget to what seems to outsiders a mindless assault on the United Nations. The foundation hopes not only to drive the United States out of the world body but to drive the American people away from a whole cluster of progressive ideas about international relations which the United Nations symbolizes.

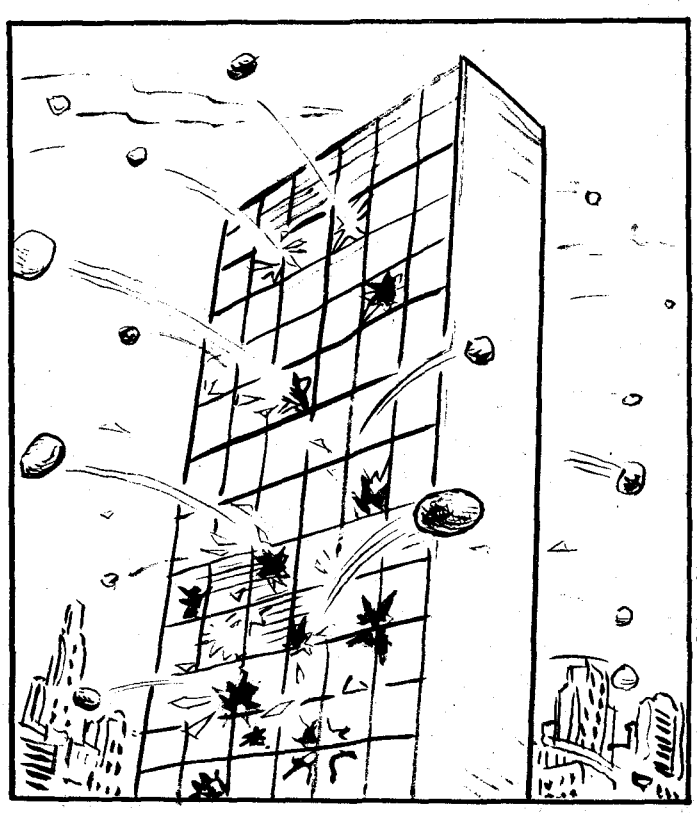
The odds are that the far right will win its campaign. Although supporters of the United Nations in this country are in the majority, they lack conviction and passion. Consequently, determined ideological minorities have a great political advantage. The far right wins victories because others, although more numerous, do not care enough to fight back. Canada's U.N. ambassador, Stephen Lewis, created a furor when he made speeches in this country attacking the United Nations' critics. For his outspokenness he incurred the wrath of the Heritage Foundation, which sent a telegram to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney asking if Lewis's views represented those of the Canadian government and demanding an apology. Mulroney replied that Lewis spoke for Canada and spoke well.

If progressives want to fight back, they must do two things: better understand the United Nations' achievements and be less indulgent of its flaws. Although the organization has never lived up to expectations, it has made significant contributions in every important area of international relations. It has pioneered the use of peacekeeping forces and has been more consistent in condemning the acquisition of territory by military action than is generally realized, in areas as diverse as the West Bank, East Timor, the Spanish Sahara and the Falkland Islands. Western statesmen were astonished that Britain received Third World support for its military defense of the Falklands; those who understood the United Nations were not surprised at all.

Although in the area of human rights the United Nations has placed disproportionate emphasis on countries like Chile, Israel and South Africa, it nevertheless has effected a conceptual revolution. Before 1945 the idea that any government need take into account international norms in determining how to treat its citizens would have been dismissed as absurd. It is discounted no longer, and if the United Nations had done nothing else in the past forty years, that accomplishment alone would justify its existence.

Its record in underdeveloped countries is also not without triumphs. A host of new countries inhabited largely by primitive peoples and with traditional economies have learned from U.N. institutions the rudiments of national development and planning. There are many reasons that entire areas of the Third World have achieved rates of economic progress unmatched in history, but U.N. development agencies deserve their share of the credit.

Yet defenders of the United Nations are too easily satisfied with that record. If the organization is to be saved, its supporters must face up to its mounting problems. These include a general decline in international standards of civility, cooperation and community; arrogant heads of interna-



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tional agencies who secure their positions by promising aid to countries that need it but refuse to be accountable to the countries that provide it; and bloated bureaucracies that accomplish more than the critics claim but less than members have a right to expect. In 1945 the memory of how bad things were in the era of rampant nationalism was fresh and provided a strong incentive to make the United Nations work. Now that memory is fading, and the United Nations must defend itself on the basis of its record.

The United States has contributed one original idea to the conduct of international relations: the League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations. Two of the most progressive Presidents in U.S. history, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, were instrumental in the creation of those bodies. The disappearance of the United Nations would mean the end of the more constructive side of America's international role. It remains, therefore, an ideal and an institution worth fighting for. □

THE U.N. IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Give Peace Talks A Chance

STEPHEN GREEN

Since 1948, the Middle East has been rocked by five major wars, yet the political conflicts in the region remain unresolved and the prospect of new fighting with even more destructive weapons looms. This bleak picture causes many observers to conclude that the United Nations has been weak and ineffectual in the Middle East. If that is true, it is largely because the United States has wanted it that way, at least since 1967.

During the Administrations of Dwight Eisenhower and Lyndon Johnson, tensions in the region flared into open warfare. The two men's responses to those crises reflected fundamentally different attitudes toward international law and international organizations—two disparate visions of America's role in the community of nations.

Eisenhower was ambivalent if not reluctant about being a Presidential candidate. He emerged from the chaos of World War II with a fierce belief in the need for international standards and organizations to implement them. Politically, he was a simple man, who, as an immensely popular war hero sought by both major parties, had the luxury of not having to worry about coalitions and compromises.

In October 1956, near the end of his first term, Britain, France and Israel attacked Egypt in what is euphemistically called the Suez crisis, although it involved an invasion larger than that launched at Anzio, Italy, in the decisive stage of World War II. None of the participants, including the two countries that had been U.S. allies in World War II, had consulted with Washington before the attack. For Eisenhower the issue was clear-cut. Both the Tripartite Declaration of 1950 (signed by Britain, France and the United States) and the U.N. Charter pledged their signatories to respect the territorial integrity of the Middle East states. Therefore, he insisted, the aggressors had to withdraw from Egypt unconditionally under the auspices of the United Nations. Within days, Britain and France agreed, but Israel refused. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion told the Knesset that the armistice lines agreed on by Israel and the Arab states in 1949 were no longer valid. Pending a final peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, the Sinai Peninsula belonged to Israel.

Eisenhower was incensed. In a confidential message to Ben-Gurion he warned that the situation could "impair the friendly cooperation between our two countries." There was no misunderstanding his meaning. The flow of government aid from the United States to Israel had been cut off days earlier. In a nationally televised address, Eisenhower explained his position and America's stake in the situation, asking:

> Should a nation which attacks and occupies foreign territory in the face of United Nations disapproval be allowed to impose conditions on its own withdrawal? If we agree that armed attack can properly achieve the purposes of the assailant, then I fear we will have turned back the clock of international order.

Heavy political pressure was brought to bear on Eisenhower, particularly from the Senate majority leader, Lyndon Johnson, to allow Israel to keep all or part of occupied Egypt. But Ike held firm, and in March 1957 a full Israeli withdrawal was effected. A contingent of United Nations Emergency Force (U.N.E.F.) troops was placed along the border between the two countries.

Ten years later, President Johnson faced another crisis in the Middle East, involving some of the same parties and many of the same issues. In May 1967, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt abruptly ordered all U.N.E.F. troops out of the Sinai and announced that the Gulf of Aqaba was closed to Israeli shipping. War appeared imminent.

Publicly, Johnson warned the two countries against violence and mobilized Western nations for a show of force in the gulf. At the same time, the White House covertly arranged for immediate air shipments of military items to Israel, shared aerial reconnaissance intelligence on the deployment of Egyptian and other Arab forces with the Israel Defense Force and readied a NATO tactical air reconnaissance squadron to provide direct assistance. On June 5, when the Israelis launched the devastating air attacks that opened the Six Day War, they knew they had the full support of the United States.

Unlike Eisenhower, Johnson was a politician through and through. He was already under enormous criticism for the

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war in Vietnam, some of the harshest of which was coming from liberal Democrats (including the bulk of the politically active U.S. Jewish community) whom the President considered core supporters. Nasser's actions had unleashed a storm of pressure from liberals to "do something" for Israel. As one White House aide put it, "doves had become hawks."

Against such pressure, U.N. Charter provisions regarding territorial integrity and the commitment to peaceful resolution of conflicts counted for little. The Johnson Administration could have prevented the withdrawal of the U.N.E.F. troops that May if it had wanted to. The White House was well aware that when U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld requested that both Egypt and Israel host the U.N.E.F. troops following the Suez war, Cairo accepted but Tel Aviv refused. Ten years later, when Nasser ordered the U.N.E.F. troops out, Secretary General U Thant again asked the Israelis to permit them to remain as a buffer on the Israeli side of the border, at least temporarily. Again Israel declined. Alone among the countries of the Middle East, it has a policy against the stationing of U.N. troops on its soil.

Johnson simply never raised the issue with Prime Minister Levi Eshkol. Years later, when Walt Rostow, Johnson's national security adviser, was asked why, he replied, "I can't answer your question." The conclusion is that in May 1967 neither Washington nor Tel Aviv wanted a U.N. buffer in the Sinai. The principle of territorial integrity invoked by Eisenhower was deliberately abandoned. Israel, it was decided, would be assisted in obtaining land as a bargaining chip that would force Arab governments to the negotiating table.

Presidents after Johnson have for the most part accepted the premise that we should be protagonists in the Middle East conflict. That is the road we have taken. Johnson's was only the first Administration to send offensive weapons to the region. During Richard Nixon's term of office, Israel was given state-of-the-art weapons at times when some U.S. units in Vietnam did not have them. They included F-4E Phantom fighter-bombers, SHRIKE antiradar air-to-ground missiles and WALLEYE and HOBO television-guided bombs. As soon as those weapons arrived, they were used by Israel in deep penetration raids on Egypt, undercutting the efforts of the third U.N. mediator for the Middle East, Gunnar Jarring.*

Nor has U.S. military aid been limited to conventional weapons. In the latter half of his Administration, Johnson "made the attainment of a [nuclear] nonproliferation treaty a national jihad," in the words of one observer, and the signing of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1968 was certainly one of Johnson's proudest achievements. On the way to that goal, however, Johnson looked the other way when Israel's nuclear weapons research facility at Dimona

* The first mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte, was killed by Israeli soldiers in 1948, in the early stages of his mission. The second, Ralph Bunche, successfully negotiated the various armistices ending the first Arab-Israeli war, in 1949. Both enjoyed the full support of the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations, respectively.

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went critical in 1964, snuffed out an investigation by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Justice Department of the diversion of U.S. nuclear materials and technology to Israel in 1966 and warned Director of Central Intelligence Richard Helms against pursuing an investigation of weapons production at Dimona in 1968. Few could have been surprised that Israel refused to sign the Nonproliferation Treaty or permit inspection of Dimona by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

In 1979, Jimmy Carter used the Office of Science and Technology Policy to deflect criticism of Israel after the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Naval Research Laboratory and several foreign scientific sources released evidence indicating that South Africa and Israel may have jointly tested a nuclear bomb in the South Atlantic. The reports, said Carter's scientists, did not contain "conclusive" evidence, and the matter did not require further investigation. If the test did occur, it would have been a clear violation of U.N. resolutions prohibiting military cooperation with South Africa.

There are many more instances of U.S. intervention on behalf of Israel since 1967 to the detriment of international laws and standards which the United States has made a policy of upholding in other circumstances and with other parties. For example, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when Amnesty International and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights accused Israel of torturing political prisoners, the State Department rushed to the country's defense. When the International Committee of the Red Cross charged that the houses of civilians had been destroyed during and after the Six Day War, State Department spokesmen again defended Israel. And when the International Civil Aviation Organization condemned the downing of a Libyan civilian airliner over Israel in 1973, the U.S. representative to the I.C.A.O. voted against the resolution.

Arguably, U.S. interventions have occasionally been justified, such as when the General Assembly debated the resolution equating Zionism with racism in 1975, and, subsequently, when Third World countries sought to eject Israel from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.* Moreover, every President since Johnson has had a domestic mandate to intervene on behalf of Israel, although that consensus may have developed cracks since the invasion of Lebanon in 1982. But right or wrong, popular or not, each time the U.S. government treats Israel as an exception to international norms of behavior, it chips away at the integrity and utility of the norms themselves and the institutions that implement them.

Ironically, it is precisely in the Middle East that those institutions could be most useful. Depending on whether you are an optimist or a pessimist, the Camp David process is

* The U.S. decision to withdraw from Unesco, in December 1984, was of course not based solely on attacks on Israel in that organization but reflected the Reagan Administration's distaste for ideological confrontation with the Russians in a U.N. forum. The Soviet Union took Unesco seriously, researched and prepared for its meetings thoroughly and usually got the better of American delegations in debates and in press coverage outside the United States. So, we took our marbles and went home.

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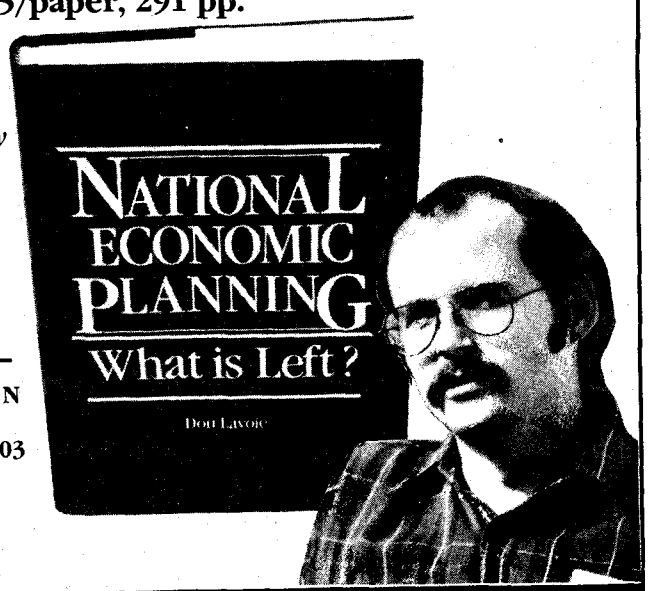

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either stalled or dead; in any event, it did not address the critical issues of the decades-old Middle East conflict. From the Truman through the Kennedy eras, the United States probably had an image of impartiality that would have allowed it to mediate the negotiation of those issues, but that day is long past. Nor is there any historical precedent for the successful resolution of those issues by direct negotiations. As Israel is the pre-eminent military power in the region, its reasons for insisting on them are transparent to the entire international community, particularly the Arab states, who have consistently opposed such a format for talks, reasoning that when two parties meet in a closet and one of them has a gun, they do not negotiate.

That leaves multilateral negotiations, either at a special conference or within the existing framework of the U.N. Security Council. A special conference offers the prospect of a fresh start, without the historical baggage that would admittedly clutter a U.N. conference room: the assassination of Count Folke Bernadotte, the Zionism-equals-racism resolution and the like. One of the essential parties to a negotiation, Jordan's King Hussein, has expressed a strong preference for a new forum for peace talks. On the other hand, setting up a special conference would be an exercise in reinventing the wheel, since the mechanisms and traditions of the United Nations are in place. Like the Red Cross, it is useful (or could be) because it is there.

A final thought. It is important that the U.S. government does not, as Irving Kristol recently suggested in a *New York Times* Op-Ed page essay, "wait and watch and be patient." Since the Camp David talks, Israel has mounted an aggressive settlement policy in the West Bank, reportedly tested a nuclear weapon with South Africa, bombed downtown Beirut and a nuclear reactor near Baghdad, annexed the Golan Heights, and invaded Lebanon at the cost of 20,000 civilian lives, according to the Lebanese government and the Red Cross. Arab leaders have understandably concluded that any peace arising out of the Camp David process would allow Israel to use its military power, whenever and wherever it chooses, to achieve either military or political objectives. In other words, a Pax Hebraica.

The events cited above have spurred the rapid growth of Islamic fundamentalist, leftist and other opposition movements against governments across the Middle East. There may soon be few if any "moderate" regimes there, at least as that term is defined by Ronald Reagan and his State Department.

Even more important in terms of the future of the region and perhaps of world peace is an ominous military development. Egypt and Syria, in different stages and from different sources, are developing a deterrent weapons system, one with a deep-strike, offensive capability with which to discourage Israel from taking military action. They are seeking accurate ballistic missiles with conventional, high-explosive and possibly chemical-biological warheads. Senior U.S. military personnel in Cairo and Washington have confirmed this.

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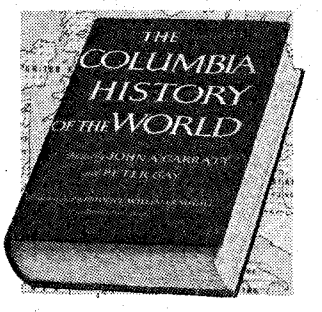

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war fought in the desert, as several have been. It will not be fought just in downtown Beirut or Damascus or Cairo. It will be fought amid collapsing apartment buildings in downtown Haifa, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem as well. That is why it behooves all of us, including Israelis, to seek an effective framework for Middle East peace negotiations, whether within the United Nations or elsewhere. □

THE U.N. AND THE THIRD WORLD

Only as Good as Its Members

EQBAL AHMAD

U.N.-bashing runs a close second to Arab-bashing in American conservative political discourse these days. The fashion arose in the early 1970s as a reaction to the perceived decline of American power symbolized by the defeat in Vietnam and the loss of unquestioned U.S. control over the United Nations and its subsidiaries. The Non-Aligned Movement's calls for a new economic order, the belated admission of the People's Republic of China, in 1971, and the General Assembly's votes in favor of a Palestinian homeland contributed to the image of the United Nations as an organization dominated by radical, anti-Western interests. Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Jeane Kirkpatrick—U.N. ambassadors under Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, respectively—consolidated the image through their polemics.

The perception of the United Nations as a body dominated by the Third World lacks substance. To be sure, decolonization has more than tripled the organization's membership, from 51 to 159, since its founding, in 1945. Third World nations have a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly, where the one member-one vote rule accords them considerable collective strength. The quota system, which allots administrative positions to each country according to a complicated formula, has assured the Third World bourgeoisie a place in the burgeoning U.N. bureaucracy. But these two privileges do not translate into power for the Third World. The Security Council's permanent members, the Big Five, retain decisive influence in the organization's activities. Their veto often prevents effective U.N. intervention when the interests of the great powers or their allies are at stake. Since superpower interests dominate world politics, the United Nations is effectively barred from playing a role in matters of war, intervention and the arms race. In that hierarchical organization, the Third World has a subaltern rank.

The arena of Third World activism is the General Assembly, where heated debates are held and controversial resolutions are passed. But those ringing appeals for justice and peace, condemnations of apartheid, calls for an end to Israeli settlements of its occupied territories and, in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, for a new international information order are largely ineffectual. Unlike those of the Security Council, the Assembly's resolutions are not binding on members. Given its universal character and deliberative function, the General Assembly's resolutions and declarations—usually reasonable, sometimes eloquent—should help shape the opinions of people the world over. But they do not. Only rarely, a cogent expression of a long-held grievance, such as the now-forgotten call for a new economic order, splashes across the world's political consciousness. Independent organizations frequently command more respect than do those of U.N. bodies. Amnesty International, for example, is considered a far more effective monitor of human rights than the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

This lack of effectiveness is explained by the fact that the United Nations is not a world body, but a disparate collection of states. It was conceived to be an instrument of the Western powers, not a vehicle for ordering a more just, more peaceable international environment. In each of the four decades of its existence, the United Nations' structure has honored the ethos, accommodated the rules and reflected the pecking order of the world's nation-state system. The declarations that now emanate from its halls and conference rooms carry so little moral weight because they are identified with the corrupt states of the world.

Some progressive observers thought that Third World members would reform the United Nations or at least put it to better use. That expectation rests on the erroneous assumptions that Third World governments are sovereign enough to perceive their interests independent of the dominant powers; that they represent the aspirations and seek to defend the rights and welfare of their citizens; and that they have the values and motivation to act collectively to attain a common goal. In fact, dependence on a foreign power, poverty of politics and illegitimacy of government are common traits of all but a few states of the Third World.

The modern state, served by centralized bureaucracies and controlled by an armed minority, is imperialism's legacy to the Third World. In colonial Asia and Africa, the state's primary function was to administer the accumulation of surplus for the benefit of metropolitan capital. Law and order, control and management, were its operational goals. Its origins were alien, its purpose elitist and its growth unrelated to society's needs. In the postcolonial period, it has prospered and continually expanded under the cover of "national security" and "modernization." The ruling elites that have built—at home and of their own accord—on the colonial model of injustice, repression and maldistribution should not be expected to transform the United Nations.

Nevertheless, in one respect the United Nations has increasingly served Third World interests since the early 1970s. When I asked representatives of three countries what has been the organization's greatest contribution to the Third World they all gave the same answer: It is the most

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important international forum for the airing of Third World viewpoints. All three cited its role in popularizing the notions of a new international economic and information order. Two, from Moslem countries, also mentioned the U.N.'s "contribution" to the Palestine question.

Since I am interested in all three issues, I could not help noticing the ironies in their response. In the three countries, which officially support the call for a new international information order, the press and the media are severely gagged. While not officially banned, my writings, along with those of many Third World writers and artists, are unlikely to be published there. Most intellectuals in these countries find the doors of the official media and publishing houses closed. In some places medieval classics like the *Shah-nama* of Fidousi and the tales of *The Thousand Nights and a Night* cannot appear unexpurgated. One country, Iraq, until recently a prominent standard-bearer of Third World state radicalism, licenses typewriters as though they were guns. If we add to these the more unredeeming examples of dictators from Chile to Zaire, the notion of Third World states sponsoring an international information order, or economic order for that matter, becomes laughable. They help give a bad name to an excellent idea.

The numerous U.N. resolutions and debates on the Palestine question have done little for the beleaguered Palestinians. They and their leaders were further dispersed by Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, and they suffer Arab as well as Israeli pogroms. Above all, they continue inexorably to lose the basic elements of national life—land, water, leaders and people—to a determined occupier. Vitriolic speeches and high-sounding resolutions at the United Nations are designed for home consumption in Arab and Moslem states whose governments are committed as a matter of national policy to the restitution of Palestinian rights and to the assertion of Islam's historic and spiritual claims over Jerusalem. The national media portrays each motion as progress. Each resolution is presented as a victory in a long war. Each helps conceal, however briefly or inadequately, the failure of Middle East governments to link rhetoric with policy; each helps hide those governments' intimate collaboration with the United States and, through it, with Israel. The concealing function of the United Nations is not limited to this issue or to Middle East governments. Debates on the apartheid question play a similar legitimizing role in Africa. If in its first two decades the United Nations was merely an instrument of American power, in the last twenty years it has also served as an opiate of the Third World.

I do not mean to scant the world organization's accomplishments. Its least visible contributions have been made by the subsidiary bodies. For example, no agency has helped the world's children more than the United Nations Children's Fund; few, if any, have administered famine and flood relief more judiciously than the U.N. Disaster and Relief Organization; no international group has done more than Unesco to preserve the ill-protected

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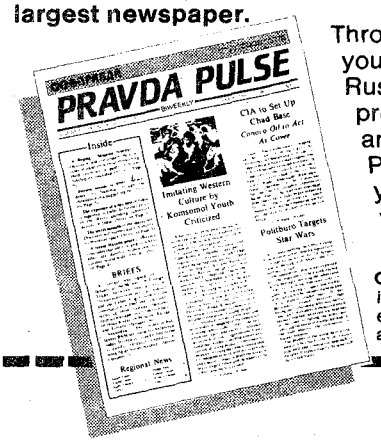

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architectural and artistic heritage of the Third World; and if the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank ever decide to assign greater weight to the needs of Third World nations than to U.S. policy, they could learn from the U.N. Development Program and provide real assistance. These and other agencies serve important world, especially Third World, interests. Yet they are under the severest attack by the United States. Ironically, they are also ignored and neglected by the Third World bureaucrats who stalk the halls of the United Nations.

Can the United Nations become more responsive to Third World aspirations for development and democracy? The answer is no as long as the organization remains subject to the will of nation-states. *The New York Times* recently reported that cholera has returned to Africa. Thousands, mostly children, have been its victims, but because the governments of the twelve countries believed to be affected fear that acknowledging the disease will adversely affect their image and their exports, the state-controlled media describe it euphemistically. In "socialist" Ethiopia, the authorized term is "acute diarrhea"; in the Sudan, "severe gastroenteritis." The World Health Organization, a U.N. agency, is powerless because its charter prohibits it from acting against an outbreak of disease until a government formally reports it. Similarly, W.H.O. and Unicef field officials were aware for months of the famine gathering in Ethiopia and the Sudan, but they were prevented by U.N. rules and callous local governments from preparing world opinion and relief organizations to deal with the impending catastrophe.

The U.N. bureaucracy is undoubtedly larger than it need be; it is often wasteful, and always slow. The degree of discrimination it practices in the employment of women is scandalous. Its pay scales and perquisites are shockingly inequitable for an international organization with pretense to social justice. Yet the United Nations is one of the few bureaucracies in the world to be engaged in peaceable, nonoppressive activities.

Many of the invaluable services provided by U.N. agencies and sorely needed by Third World countries are underused. For example, the Economic and Social Council's commission on transnational corporations produces excellent data on multinational corporations, analyses of business trends, advice to governments that need to strengthen their negotiating capacity, and studies of the multinationals' political, social and economic impact on host countries. Few, if any, Third World countries have the resources or the inclination to conduct this type of research, yet during 1985 only a handful of those states have availed themselves of the service. The phenomenon is common and deserves explanation: with rare exceptions, the Third World's bourgeoisie is a parasitic class. Its attention is fixed on the perquisites of power—easy money from surplus accumulation, foreign loans and grants. It has little interest in productive endeavors or the skillful conservation of resources. Hence, it is prone to pursue, intelligently and aggressively, the loan-granting and aid-giving international bodies, while neglecting those that are knowledge-giving and skill-improving.

The failures of the United Nations are not its own. An organization of states can be only as good as its members. It works to the best of its limited ability for progress and relief of the needy. Occasionally when the international power brokers and parties to a conflict agree on a truce or ceasefire, the United Nations provides expertise and peacekeeping forces. In the process, its employees may get shot at, run over and kidnapped, as they have been these past few years in Lebanon.

A state wishing to defy U.N. authority in such situations can do so with impunity, but to its own discredit and ultimate disadvantage. Witness Gamal Abdel Nasser's demand for the withdrawal of U.N. peacekeeping forces from the Sinai in 1967, the U.S. and South Vietnamese governments' undermining of the international supervisory team in Indochina, Israel's multiple defiances of the U.N. Charter and assaults on its forces in Lebanon, and Iran and Iraq's obdurate refusal to use the U.N. peacekeeping machinery to end their senseless war. In each case, the states concerned would have served their own interests and those of peace generally by respecting the role of the United Nations. □

THE BLACKENING OF THE U.N.

The Commodity States

A.W. SINGHAM

If one were to choose a metaphor for the most important change that has taken place in the United Nations over the past forty years, it would be the gradual blackening of the Delegates' Lounge. What began as a small and exclusive white man's country club on the East River has become a potpourri of races and cultures, the majority of them from the Third World.

The entry of former colonies as full-fledged members of the international organization caused some social problems at its New York City headquarters. European and U.S. delegates could no longer distinguish between waiters and guards and ambassadors. The city's posh East Side, where most delegates live, was unprepared for the invasion of Africans in multicolored robes, Arabs in desert tunics and Asians in drab uniforms. The newcomers also had "peculiar" eating habits, and their cooking filled apartment buildings with the pungent aromas of curries, soy sauce and oils. The elegant delegates' dining room, noted for its fine French cuisine, began serving exotic dishes like couscous.

But the new members had an even greater political impact. They began making rude demands that flouted the conventions of European-style diplomacy. Even more unsettling, they called for a new international economic order. Most of

A.W. Singham has been a "resident anthropologist" in the Delegates' Lounge, practicing his craft of participant observation in connection with a study of the Non-Aligned Movement, which will be published this winter.

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these nations had been treated by their colonial owners as hinterlands, producing certain commodities for European consumption. With independence, the new governments inherited one-crop economies; they were, in effect, "commodity states." They quickly realized that political independence meant functioning in a global economy in which they were unable to set the prices of their exports and which jeopardized their sovereignty. The United Nations was a splendid forum for them, a place to organize themselves into commodity unions. For they realized they needed a collective-bargaining strategy if they were to survive in a global marketplace.

It was that strategy of creating commodity unions that most enraged the Western states. They had assumed that the Third World countries would continue to be junior partners in the world economy. But then those nations started talking about forming cartels and restricting the exploitation of their resources. While the liberal Western nations were willing to accept the idea of collective bargaining, they put their foot down when they heard proposals in the United Nations for restructuring the global economy. The institution that the West had seen as a place for the political education of "backward" peoples was becoming a threat. U.S. academics were among the first to sound the alarm. They wrote books with titles like *A Most Dangerous Place* (Daniel Patrick Moynihan) and recently *Nation Against Nation* (Thomas M. Franck), warning of the dangers of a United Nations controlled by the Third World. The one issue that unites Republican and Democratic Administrations in their hostility against the United Nations is its position on Israel and the Palestinians. It was left to the Reagan Administration to formulate a strategy for taming the world body by bringing it into the liberal-conservative framework of the West.

That strategy had three components. At the political level, it called for the destruction of coalitions formed in the United Nations that undermined Western hegemony. Opponents of the increased presence of the Third World were particularly annoyed at the growing cooperation between the nonaligned countries and the socialist bloc. To put an end to all this, U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, formerly a distinguished professor of political science at Georgetown University, developed a sophisticated and empirical loyalty test to analyze the voting behavior of U.N. members and measure the ideological predisposition of a given state. The purpose of this test was to determine how U.S. aid would be dispensed, rewarding friends and punishing enemies. Last month another professor and former U.N. ambassador, Senator Moynihan, told Deng Xiaoping that China had failed this test and would have to do better next year if it was to regain its membership in the community of civilized nations. The net result of this Reagan policy is a shift to bilateral diplomacy. This reward-punishment system aims to put an end to the collective-bargaining strategy and the talk about global economic reconstruction.

But the Reagan Administration recognized the importance of the United Nations as a cultural force. Located in the capital of the world's communications industry, it could play a major role in replacing traditional values with

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modern Western values. The transformation is foreshadowed in the Delegates' Lounge, where the traditional robes and tunics have been replaced by three-piece Pierre Cardin suits. It has spread to the delegates' dining room, where Chinese, Indian, Middle Eastern and African cuisines have been modified to satisfy the tastes of the newly emergent international yuppie class. The Administration's cultural strategy also calls for undermining U.N. agencies, like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, that appear to be hostile to market values. It is an extension of the Reaganites' domestic policy, which has been characterized by political scientist Ronald Walters as the "revival of white nationalism." The revolt of the white ethnics which began in communities like Canarsie has finally reached the East River via Washington.

The third prong of the Reagan strategy called for conducting all discussions of the most momentous issue of our time, the arms race, outside the United Nations, which would ultimately lose all but its ceremonial functions.

There are some problems with this global vision, however. The dispossessed of the earth have the nasty habit of asserting themselves. The security and the economic well-being of the East and the West depend on the participation of the victims. There are at least four areas of the world where major wars are likely to break out: the Middle East, southern Africa, Southeast and West Asia and Central America. Every state in these hot spots has the capacity to lead the world to the nuclear abyss. Furthermore, many Third World countries possess resources that are necessary for the expansion and continued growth of the Western economies, and countries like China, India and Brazil are regarded by Western corporations as potentially lucrative markets. Finally, the revival of religious fundamentalism and other anarchistic movements threaten not only the Western world but the entire international system. As the international system becomes more anarchical, the danger of a global war increases.

Given these conditions, the Delegates' Lounge at the United Nations continues to symbolize the organization's best hope: the possibility of some form of communication among diverse cultures. Although the major powers may prefer bilateral diplomacy, the political and economic problems that confront the world today are interrelated and can be resolved only multilaterally.

The revival of racism in the West and the growth of fundamentalist political movements like Pol Potism in the Third World can unleash dangerous forms of barbarism. The United Nations remains the only organization that can expose rampant racism, chauvinism and political repression throughout the world. For the United Nations to be a viable organization requires changes not only in the behavior of the Third World states but, more important, a maturity of relationship between the superpowers. Both the superpowers and the Third World states are threatened by international anarchy. The world can be safe only when all nations adopt a policy of cultural coexistence, realizing the vision of the Network to Educate for World Security: "The United Nations—where even enemies can talk." □

U.N. FAMINE RELIEF

Putting Politics Before Hunger

WILLIAM SHAWCROSS

There is a depressing familiarity about the way the international community, including the United Nations, has reacted to the Ethiopian famine. It is reminiscent of the way the world responded to the widespread starvation in Cambodia in 1979 and 1980.

Both countries were beset by war and revolution for ten years before they became the focus of urgent international concern. Suddenly millions of people appeared to be on the verge of death. A vast relief program was hastily mounted by U.N. agencies and private groups. Six months later, it was snarled in difficulties. Both countries have Communist regimes allied with the Soviet Union which are anathema to many Western nations, particularly the United States, the largest donor. In both cases the regime was responsible for creating many of the conditions that caused the famine.

Perhaps the most important similarity is that, like Cambodia, Ethiopia is embroiled in bitter civil wars. With massive Soviet help, the government of Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile-Mariam is attempting to suppress secessionist movements in Tigré and Eritrea provinces. This conflict and the drought are the major causes of the famine.

Last November I talked with Jacques Beaumont, the first representative from the United Nations Children's Fund into Phnom Penh in 1979 and now head of Unicef's Emergency Operations Unit, who told me that the international organization was applying to Ethiopia lessons it had learned in Cambodia. First, it is gearing relief aid to crop cycles. In Cambodia not enough food was provided to tide the people over the lean periods between harvests. Second, it is planning at least fifteen months ahead so that the flow of aid will be sufficient during the lean periods and diminish after the harvests come in. Third, it is coordinating aid from national and international sources and from private agencies. Fourth, at the request of the World Food Program and Unicef, Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar has appointed Kurt Jansson to act as coordinator of logistics, with the title of Assistant Secretary General for Emergency Operations in Ethiopia. Jansson ran the Joint Missions program in Phnom Penh and was a superb broker between the donors and the authorities.

I asked Beaumont if Jansson would have any power of the purse that would enable him to cajole the various relief organizations into working together in accordance with a central plan. Ah, no, Beaumont replied, that is asking too much of the United Nations. In five years' time, perhaps.

William Shawcross is the author, most recently, of The Quality of Mercy: Cambodia, Holocaust and Modern Conscience *(Simon & Schuster).*

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Early this year in London, I asked Jansson to compare the Ethiopian crisis with the Cambodian one. "The main difference from Cambodia," he said, "is that there you could not easily starve to death. Nutritional levels might have been low but there was always something. In Ethiopia there is nothing. I had never seen people in the countryside starving to death before my eyes. In Cambodia we were giving supplementary food, but in Ethiopia we are feeding people totally. It's much more severe. A real catastrophe." He thought that between 600,000 and 1 million Ethiopians had died before 1985 and that between 7 million and 8 million of the country's 42 million people would be at risk this year. (The Ethiopian government's Relief and Rehabilitation Commission provided identical figures.) In response, the international community planned to ship 1.3 million tons of grain to the country this year, vastly more than was given to Cambodia—a remarkable achievement in itself.

Many more voluntary agencies are working in Ethiopia than the Vietnamese authorities permitted in Cambodia, and the government allows them greater freedom to operate. A number of them have excellent feeding programs, and together they distribute about half the food. Because Washington distrusts the Ethiopian regime, almost all the U.S. food (about one-third the total shipped so far) has been channeled through American voluntary agencies like World Vision and Catholic Relief Services. Cooperation between them and the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission has often been poor. Some areas, like Welo Province in the north, have received inadequate food.

One reason for that is the acute shortage of transport. Back in December, Jansson asked donor governments to provide spare parts for 400 broken-down trucks and to buy 300 long-haul trucks (twenty-two-ton capacity) and 400 four-wheel-drive short-haul trucks (six- to ten-ton capacity). The response was sluggish: Western governments find it easier to give large quantities of surplus grain than to pay for trucks. At the end of last year the plan—or the hope—was to transport 119,000 tons of food every month from the ports to the countryside. In fact, between December and May, less than 50,000 tons a month were moved out of the ports and out of two principal warehouses, at Kembolcha and Nazareth. Now about 75,000 tons a month are being delivered.

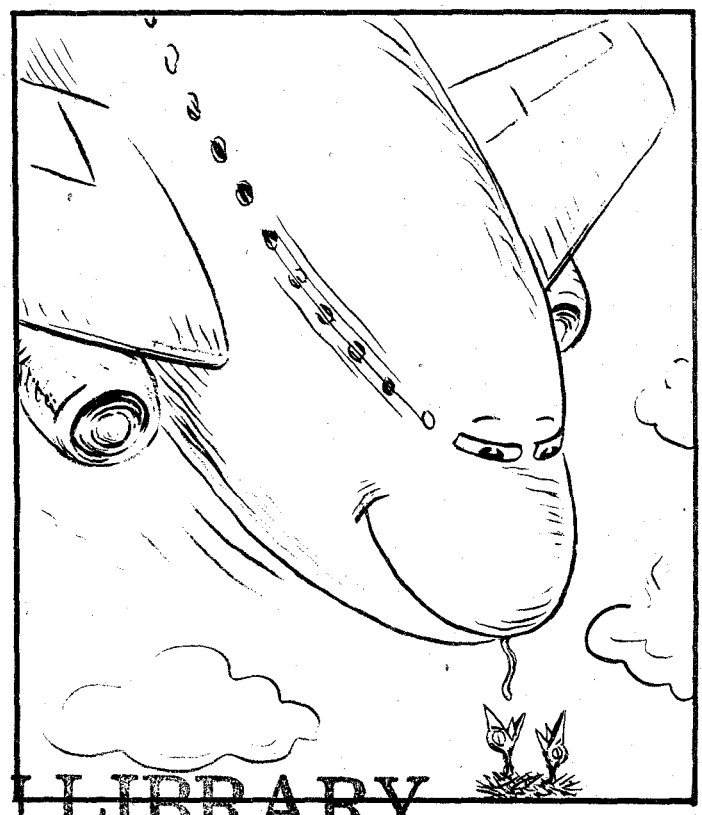
In Cambodia, proper monitoring of food distribution was impossible because the government would not allow it. In some places the continued fighting between the Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese would have prevented it anyway. The government in Addis Ababa is far more cooperative with the donor governments and with the relief agencies. But, as in Cambodia, it tends to provide rather broad-brush estimates of the amount of food that has been moved. Whereas the embassies of the donor nations (led by the United States) constantly questioned the figures on distribution provided by the Phnom Penh authorities, this time they are remarkably complaisant. In February, Jean-Pierre Hocke, the operations director of the International Committee of the Red Cross, warned donors: "Either you just want to send a lot of food to the country, or you really want to help the starving. In the second case, what is happening is unacceptable."

The main reason for Washington's aggressiveness in the case of Cambodia was that it had no diplomatic ties with Phnom Penh and therefore nothing to lose. In Ethiopia, it has a chargé d'affaires in the capital, and relations with the regime are precarious. Party leaders constantly attack the United States, and the extent of U.S. aid is never acknowledged publicly. Any American criticisms of the government's efforts are denounced as interference.

In neither Cambodia nor Ethiopia has the U.N. coordinator had power to supervise the distribution of U.N. aid, let alone supplies from voluntary agencies. Initially, at least, large amounts of food were shipped without the assurance of adequate means of transport. Consequently, supplies were not distributed as quickly or as widely as Western donors or some relief groups thought appropriate. The government also tried to prevent distribution of food to civilians in rebel-held territory [see Jonathan B. Tucker, "The Politics of Famine in Ethiopia," *The Nation*, January 19].

In Cambodia a considerable portion of the aid (it is impossible to say just how much) was used by both sides in the civil war for political purposes. In the long term, that policy strengthened the Vietnamese-controlled regime as well as the rebel forces of the Khmer Rouge and its non-Communist allies in the Khmer Peoples' National Liberation Front. Rather than going to the peasants directly, food went to the government and the insurgents. Now the war is being fought more fiercely than before, and the Cambodian economy remains moribund. Despite all the passion and the care that was expended on Cambodia in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, its problems are as intractable as ever.

It is too early to pass a verdict on the outcome of the



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Ethiopian relief operation, yet there, too, humanitarian aid has been used by each belligerent to support its war effort. Peace seems far away, and without it there will never be an end to the starvation, at least in Eritrea and Tigré. Thus aid is helping prolong the causes of the famine.

Humanitarian aid is often required because of abject political failure. It is neither intended nor able to resolve political crises that governments have created or failed to address. In both Cambodia and Ethiopia aid has saved thousands upon thousands of lives, but it has also been used to prolong the causes of the disaster. In both crises the actors have used humanitarianism as a fig leaf for either the poverty or the ruthlessness of their policies. U.N. agencies have been able to save lives but the United Nations has done little to attack the political problems of either area. In Ethiopia at the moment, the organization's most wretched lapse is that it has failed utterly to secure permission to take U.N. food convoys into the disputed areas of Tigré and Eritrea whence so many hundreds of thousands of the starving are trying to flee. □

THE U.N. AND INFORMATION

Breaking the West's Media Monopoly

HERBERT I. SCHILLER

Foremost among the many misconceptions advanced by the U.S. media in recent years is that the United Nations and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization are trying to establish a new international information order that would limit the circulation of ideas and impose a tyranny over the mind. Let's look at the record.

U.N. and Unesco initiatives in the information field can be broken down into three periods: the postwar era, in which both organizations provided near-automatic majorities for their most powerful member, the United States; the late 1960s and most of the 1970s, when the decolonized nations realized that political independence is limited without corresponding economic and informational autonomy; and the current period, beginning at the end of the 1970s, when transnational corporations, tremendously strengthened by the computer and the communications satellite, attacked the U.N. structure in general and the principle of international decision-making in particular.

The only successful world information order was achieved by the American communications industry in the twenty-year period immediately after World War II. Under U.S. influence and guidance, the United Nations and Unesco proved to be effective collaborators in that enterprise. Most of the fifty-five or so U.N. member nations during that period were dependent on U.S. economic aid. It was a relatively simple diplomatic exercise to persuade a majority to endorse American global policies and strategies. U.S. capital, taking advantage of the war-ravaged Western economies, established itself as the dominant force on the European continent and in many of the former colonial areas.

The U.S. media participated vigorously in this first expansionist wave. The Associated Press and United Press International, for example, dislodged Reuters and the other European news agencies as the primary suppliers of international news. Since then the world has been reported largely through the eyes of American-owned news organizations. Hollywood films, with considerable assistance from the Motion Picture Export Association, saturated the world's movie screens. In the 1950s and early 1960s, American television programs, replete with images of U.S. products and services, became the staple fare of viewers the world over. U.S. tourists, advertising, popular music, books (especially school texts) and magazines, and the English language itself, contributed to the making of a transnational commercial culture.

Many in the United Nations, and in Unesco especially, saw those developments as encouraging signs of progress in the poorer countries. Unesco reports, which were written by U.S. communications experts, generally claimed that the mass media and the products they advertised provided the motivation for what was approvingly called modernization. This meant adopting, as rapidly as possible, the basic features of private enterprise. American communications experts were correct in pointing out that the mass media played an important role in that process. If the goal of modernization was the consumer society, the United States provided the model and the American mass media celebrated and promoted it.

During this period Unesco, at the urging of the United States, also endorsed a principle that underlay, and indeed ennobled, the expansion of the American cultural industries. This was the concept of the "free flow of information." Unexceptional and even highly desirable as an abstract standard, in practice the free-flow idea gave a green light for the global penetration of the products of U.S. media-cultural conglomerates like CBS, Time Inc., J. Walter Thompson, Twentieth-Century Fox and others. It also sternly rejected as tantamount to totalitarianism any nation's effort to regulate that flow.

By the end of the 1960s, an international information order was in place—an American one. All developments since must be understood either as initiatives to change and diversify this order or as efforts by its beneficiaries to maintain or extend it.

Contrary to the prevailing view in the U.S. media, the initial demands for change in the international information system came from the newly independent Asian nations as well as the economically dependent Latin American states rather than from the Soviet bloc. Those demands, expressed outside as well as inside U.N. bodies, became increasingly

Herbert I. Schiller is a professor of communication at the University of California, San Diego, and the author of Information and the Crisis Economy *(Ablex).*

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influential in the late 1960s, as the new nations came to constitute the majority in the international community. Their criticisms surfaced in Unesco in meetings and experts' reports. Strongly influencing the U.N. bodies was the growth of associations of the newly emerged nations, such as the Group of 77 and the Non-Aligned Movement. At a conference in Algiers in 1973, leaders of the latter group issued a statement of grievances:

> It is an established fact that the activities of imperialism are not confined solely to the political and economic fields but also cover the cultural and social fields, thus imposing an alien ideological domination over the peoples of the developing world.

At a number of international meetings of U.N. bodies and Third World nations in the mid-1970s, the characteristics and extent of the United States' information monopoly were discussed. The one-way flow of news from a few Western centers drew special criticism. Gatherings were held in Quito, Equador; Lima, Peru; Bogotá, Colombia; Mexico City; San José, Costa Rica; Tunis; Colombo, Sri Lanka; and New Delhi, among other cities. Rarely were the proceedings reported in the U.S. media. When they were, the accounts were brief and invariably hostile to the aspirations of the participants. Much was made in the press, for example, of a purported plan to license journalists. That was never an official Unesco proposal. Last year leaders of five nongovernmental journalists' organizations with worldwide representation issued a joint statement praising Unesco and urging U.S. professional organizations to continue to insist on a reconsideration of the United States' withdrawal.

Indeed, U.S. accounts of Unesco and Third World meetings and resolutions on the new information order provided excellent examples of what the Third World countries were complaining about. The stories demonstrated also that the need for diversification in information supply is not exclusively a Third World problem. Westerners too are victims of the media's self-serving reportage.

Although no specific new information order was promulgated at the meetings, three main demands emerged: greater variety in sources of information, less monopolization of the forms of cultural expression, and preservation of some national cultural space from the pervasive commercialization of Western cultural outpourings.

The drive for change crested in the fall of 1976, at the nineteenth General Conference of Unesco, in Nairobi, Kenya. At that meeting, the U.S. delegation was obliged to take note of the near-unanimity of the opposition it faced and to acknowledge what up to that time Washington had denied routinely—that there were indeed international "information imbalances."

It was also in Nairobi, however, that the United States, though seemingly defensive and faltering, laid out the course it would follow in deflecting and defusing the challenge to its worldwide information advantage. To placate the advocates of change, the United States acceded to the appointment of an international commission to study communications problems. Known as the MacBride commission—after its chair, Nobel Prize–winner Sean MacBride—it issued a useful report in 1980, "Many Voices, One World," along with almost one hundred related monographs and studies.

In addition, the United States also volunteered to offer technological assistance to those nations that wanted to expand their communications capabilities. The technological gambit continues to be the United States' preferred method for dealing with information issues at home and abroad. It works in two ways.

First, from the technological perspective, information inadequacy can be expressed in terms of sheer physical volume—how many words, pictures, paragraphs, feet of tape, number of films, records, books, are produced and distributed. Yet far more significant is the quality and the substance of the imagery produced and provided. What counts are the institutional arrangements and standards that govern cultural production. In short, who decides? For what objective?

Second, and possibly more important, the U.S. offer to provide technical assistance diverted the demand for a new information order to technical "solutions." It also laid the groundwork for another condition of information dependency, one based on technology, which may surpass U.S. domination of the media as the source of global dissatisfaction. Global information domination and control in the 1980s will be based largely on the capability to manufacture the hardware of advanced technologies such as satellites and computers, the organization and administration of international communications networks, the construction and ownership of comprehensive electronic data banks and the creation of the software that sets all the information activity in motion.

In the new international division of labor that is set up under the guidance and direction of the transnational business system, information generation, processing, transmission and dissemination are vital. Information has become an essential element in the world business economy. The longstanding dominance of the Western media, therefore, has been augmented by the enormous power of the multinational corporate system. Additionally, the social forces that previously held that system to a minimal standard of accountability are less and less capable of doing so. The massive transmission of economic data across national borders by global corporations has greatly weakened local governments and businesses.

The nation-state finds its autonomy eroding before the enlarged capabilities of the big companies, which are deciding independently how vital resources will be allocated. Less developed countries are practically helpless. Labor also suffers, as big employers shift production, capital and data around the world almost at will. Public broadcasting and national telecommunications systems in Western Europe and elsewhere are being privatized and deregulated as global capital brushes aside public need and social obligation. The United Nations and its affiliated bodies are circumvented, attacked, sometimes abandoned.

The United States' withdrawal from Unesco is one expression of current transnational corporate aggressiveness. The

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State Department's spokesman on the issue was not shy about saying so. He explained the action as a response to the efforts "to develop normative standards that would impose restraints on Western media and restrict activities of transnational corporations."

"The divorce from Unesco may well foster a greater willingness on the part of U.S. business and industry interests to support communication development and projects," he suggested. But such support would be offered on the private donors' terms. International agreements and principles would not apply. No less unilateralist was the decision of the Federal Communications Commission this summer to authorize privately owned U.S. communications satellites to compete with Intelsat, a 110-member international satellite communications organization [see Gregory C. Staple, "The Assault on Intelsat," *The Nation*, December 22, 1984].

In sum, the call for a new information order was a response to the postwar establishment of an American empire of communications and popular culture. Its concern, was the opening up, not the closing down, of informational circuits. It proposed to increase the number of voices in the global discourse, not reduce them. It did not want to abolish commercial culture but to add a social dimension to it. It sought responsible reporting of international affairs.

For the time being, this more expansive approach has been set aside. Instead of the hoped-for international information order, we have a corporate regimen. The International Advertising Association has provided one vision: "world class products being sold by uniform advertising campaigns on commercial television around the world."

Meanwhile, the basic human and cultural needs that prompted the movement remain unmet and are growing more acute. They will provide the agenda for the international and domestic upsurge against transnational corporate culture, whenever that occurs. At that time, too, the basic principles of the United Nations—universality and full participatory decision-making—will be reinvigorated. □

THE U.N. CHARTER

Still the Best Hope for Peace

MARCUS RASKIN

Nowhere is it more obvious that the United Nations is a creature of nation-states—primarily the superpowers—than in the area of security and disarmament. The United Nations cannot effect disarmament unless the great powers agree; however, the U.N. process can create an important political momentum in behalf of disarmament and the work of peace movements. The United Nations is the place where governments feel they must speak out against apartheid and for disarmament and economic development. It is a place where, more often than not, nations prove La Rochefoucauld's maxim that hypocrisy is the homage that vice pays to virtue.

This exercise can have positive political results. Statements, pronouncements and resolutions can (and have) become legitimizing instruments for peace and human rights movements across the world. That political fact should be understood in the dialectics of debate over disarmament and security. Peace activists, scholars and statesmen should not fall into the trap of thinking that the United Nations is by nature irrelevant to security and disarmament. After all, the framers of the U.N. Charter sought to assert the organization's centrality rather than its marginality in international affairs.

The United Nations grew out of the grand military alliance of World War II, and it was generally assumed that the United States would be the senior partner in rebuilding the international system. Forty years ago empires were falling from one end of the earth to the other. Some 50 million people had been killed; America had dropped atomic bombs on Japan in a prologue to the cold war. It was little wonder that the first article of the Charter states that the United Nations' fundamental purpose is "to maintain international peace and security." That objective was to be attained with "the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources." A permanent U.N. police force coupled with general disarmament was to achieve world peace. Under Article 47 of the Charter, the Security Council's Military Staff Committee was given the responsibility of formulating international security plans, which would be implemented through the United Nations by the great powers with the consultation and assent of the small nations. The committee has ritually met since 1948 to discuss a permanent armed force, but nothing has come of its deliberations.

Indeed, the concept of a U.N. police force has not been taken seriously by member nations since the early 1960s. In 1964, Brian Urquhart, now Under Secretary General for Special Political Affairs, championed the idea of an international peacekeeping system but argued against such a force: "The institutional addition at this time of a permanent international police force would in all probability worsen the state of international politics, and it might, by its very existence or through precipitate and inappropriate use, complicate the very situation it was designed to solve." The formation of such a force would, in any case, make little sense unless a comprehensive disarmament was also achieved.

The drafters of the Charter granted to the Security Council the powers to decide whether to use force, and the General Assembly had only an advisory role. However, the idea that all the member nations could authorize collective measures was pressed by the United States in 1950, when North Korean forces invaded South Korea. Unable to obtain the Security Council's approval for sending in U.N. troops, America introduced the Uniting for Peace resolution

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in the General Assembly, authorizing an international force in Korea. That action seemed to signal a new role for the General Assembly, but Washington would find that it had created a monster. By 1958, the Third World countries had achieved a majority in the General Assembly, at which point official U.S. disenchantment with the United Nations began. The smaller nations saw the world body, particularly the General Assembly, as an important instrument for checking the great powers.

That political perception carried over into the disarmament arena. Since its founding, the United Nations has debated disarmament frequently. Although the Charter did not make any specific provision for the atomic bomb, the United Nations has been the pre-eminent international forum for discussing, if not resolving, questions concerning nuclear weapons and disarmament. The first resolutions of the General Assembly dealt with conventional and nuclear disarmament. By the early 1960s, however, the superpowers would engage in serious arms talks only outside the United Nations. The United States sought to undercut any influence the General Assembly might have gained on security matters, and the Russians were happy to go along with America's leadership. This defiance of the United Nations by the superpowers has had a devastating effect on the arms race, causing world insecurity to increase exponentially.

A case study of how the superpowers derailed the disarmament efforts of small countries in the United Nations is provided by the Geneva-based Disarmament Committee. Formed in 1962 under the aegis of the United Nations, the committee, which included eight nonaligned nations, quickly set to work drafting a comprehensive test-ban agreement. They pressed the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union to drop their opposition to such a pact. As Alva Myrdal, the Swedish delegate, pointed out in his book *The Game of Disarmament*, "These nuclear powers were made accountable . . . through a subcommittee whose specific mandate was to produce a draft of a convention prohibiting nuclear tests." The nonaligned nations proposed a solution to the problem of verification: an international commission of scientists would process and monitor all data and investigate any suspected violations of treaty limitations. All nations would "accept the obligation to furnish the proposed commission with the facts." For a year the carefully drafted proposal was debated by the various nations on the committee, which included the superpowers. A U.S.-Soviet dispute erupted over the number of on-site inspections each would allow. The United States demanded seven, while the Russians would accept only three. When it became clear that an agreement was about to be reached in the Disarmament Committee, with the prestige of the United Nations behind it, the superpowers walked out. Freed of pressure from the small nations, the Soviet Union and the United States drew up an agreement that restricted them to underground testing. More important, the "supers" cemented their clubby relationship by agreeing to hold future arms talks outside the United Nations.

Unfortunately, the atmospheric testing agreement was seen as a great victory by peace movements throughout the world. While it did have some positive environmental impact, it effectively torpedoed any comprehensive test-ban agreement. Since 1963, each superpower has pressed as hard as it could to expand its underground testing program. The positive role the United Nations might have played in influencing the superpowers through the Geneva committee was aborted. The superpowers have effectively excluded the world from playing an active role in nuclear disarmament.

By 1982 concern over the folly of the blind leading the blind had mounted among the citizens of the world. In June of that year almost a million people demonstrated at the U.N. World Disarmament Conference, urging the body to bring pressure on its most influential member states to disarm. In that seemingly useless act, connections were made that could serve as the basis for reinvigorating the United Nations. The U.S. peace movement now recognizes that it must capitalize on General Assembly resolutions calling for disarmament, and it should insist that those resolutions become the basis for U.S. foreign policy. In that way the cries of humanity for an end to wars can be transformed into political action in every nation—especially in the United States, where the government has no disarmament program. Making the United Nations the arena for serious arms talks would end the superpowers' game of hiding their inaction on disarmament. Most important, by locating the resolution of the arms and security question in the framework of the U.N. system, the chances of developing an international consciousness and strengthening international institutions are much greater.

As mentioned earlier, under Article 47 of the Charter the Security Council was mandated to establish a military committee to produce an international security plan. At their summit meeting in Geneva this November, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev should seek to revive it. Instead of Star Wars they should discuss Earth Peace and call for an international security plan premised on a general disarmament program. A revitalized U.N. military committee could work toward that with the understanding that in two years both the permanent members of the Security Council and other countries would convene to negotiate its terms. The military staff committee would be charged by the Security Council, including the superpowers, with analyzing, studying and recommending plans for a common security and disarmament process that would approach completion by the year 2000.

In 1961 the beginnings of such a scenario were laid by John Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev. They accepted the McCloy-Zorin principles for complete disarmament, which called for the creation of an international disarmament organization to "implement control over the inspection of disarmament." Draft programs already exist, including one I drew up last year and another by the distinguished international law professor Louis Sohn. The Soviet Academy of Sciences prepared a detailed analysis of my proposal, which they are to present this fall.

All leaders should heed the admonition of President Dwight Eisenhower that either leaders must make peace or

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the people will do it for them. The United Nations is a place where governments and movements can work together—especially if there is sober reflection by governments about the razor's edge on which humankind is treading and a realization by peace movements that they must act with militance, reason and passion, using the U.N. system in their quest for peace. □

THE U.N. REVISITED

The Soul of the 'Machin'

CLAUDE BOURDET

Paris

The French word "*machin*" is difficult to render into English. It sounds a bit like "machine," but there isn't anything mechanical about it. It simply means a *thing*, a contraption, a gadget—anything vague and probably useless. When Gen. Charles de Gaulle called the United Nations *ce machin* sometime between his second coming to power, in 1958, and his successful attempt to end the Algerian war, in 1962, he was playing in his demagogic way on the nerves of a nation whose chauvinistic spirit was still very strong. Most French people were unable to come to terms with the need to divest ourselves of our former empire, to put down the white man's burden. De Gaulle, however, was quite aware that empire was an idea whose time had passed and was able, after a few years, to make the people accept decolonialization. But he didn't like to be told this by the United Nations, which, with the gradual accession of Third World countries, was fast becoming a forum for attacks on colonialism. De Gaulle's bons mots were famous, and this one elicited a complacent snicker from chauvinists, reactionaries and xenophobes in general.

Yet many moderate and rational people reminded him that the *machin* was more useful than he cared to admit; that it was a place where international tensions could be partly defused; that talking was better than fighting, even if the talk often seemed noisy and empty; and that in 1945 he had shown considerable eagerness to join the organization as one of the great powers, enjoying permanent membership and veto power in the Security Council even though France hardly qualified as a middling power at the time.

De Gaulle didn't repeat his remark; he probably made it for local consumption. And he and his successors have generally been alert to the opportunities that the United Nations offers for sophisticated diplomacy. But the *machin* appellation hasn't been forgotten. It expresses all too well the kind of shrug with which France, and any modern power for that matter, responds to interference from outsiders, be they nation-states or international organizations.

Claude Bourdet has been The Nation*'s Paris correspondent for many years.*

There is a more pleasant side to this. Probably because of their ingrained skepticism, Europeans, and especially the French, are not as disillusioned with the United Nations as many Americans are. I don't think anybody in Europe ever expected the United Nations to change the face of the planet. The stinging, sometimes bloody showers of history remind us that things never really change. Only very small groups of people have ever expected a millennium of peace and plenty. The hope of achieving, by peaceful or other means, the victory of "good" people over "evil" people, which is a common feature of American Christian fundamentalism and of primeval Soviet communism, has not been popular here for centuries. Most Europeans believe it is rare to find wholly good or wholly evil individuals, let alone peoples. Call it cynicism or realism, Europeans' long experience has taught them that the second principle of thermodynamics applies to social systems as well as to physics. Social machines are the most inefficient of them all. Their output is always miserably smaller than the input. That doesn't mean one should pack it all in, only that one should not be distressed when great efforts produce small results, and that one should not impute the paucity to error, treason or criminality, as do Stalinists and the worst kind of religious fundamentalists.

William of Orange's dictum "There is no need to hope in order to undertake, and no need to succeed in order to persevere" has always seemed to me a little extreme. We Europeans would say: "A little hope is needed in order to undertake, and a little success is needed in order to persevere." That dictum certainly applies to the United Nations.

Other articles in this issue allude to the myriad achievements of the organization and its specialized agencies. How many Palestinian refugees would be alive and educated without the United Nations Relief and Works Agency? How many African and Asian ones without the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees? But the crucial factor in the present era has been the tremendously important role the United Nations has played in the political, economic and cultural life of the Third World. From the day they emerged, those countries felt that they must be allowed to draw on the huge capital of technical and intellectual know-how that the "developed" nations had accumulated over the centuries, often at the expense of the former colonies' wealth and labor, and that the only safe way to acquire those necessities was through the United Nations and its agencies. Otherwise, imperialism would be rampant again in one of its many guises. Of course, the organization has never been able to do all it could and should, its finances drained by life-or-death projects such as helping refugees and victims of famine and disease. But what has been done has been invaluable, and it is typical of the richer and more developed countries (with the honorable exception of the Scandinavians) to prefer to deliver their aid bilaterally in order to maintain, or acquire, influence in the dependent countries. Progressive forces the world over should pressure their governments to channel the largest possible part of their foreign aid through the United Nations.

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But the United Nations has not been solely, or even mainly, an almshouse for the world's poor. Through it, peoples that had not been recognized as nations and nations that had been ignored for centuries suddenly acquired not only legal existence but respectability. Their voices were heard, and often they spoke good sense. They were courted for their votes, and they gradually understood that they had, in some ways, more power than the superpowers. In these countries, the organization enjoys a popularity it has never had in the West. That is why disparaging or ignoring the United Nations is a sure way of arousing antipathy in the Third World. President Reagan's policy against the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has certainly not won the United States any friends. The Russians know this and constantly invoke U.N. ideals, even though they have antagonized many Third World countries by their deeds. Their aggression in Afghanistan, for example, looks to a number of those nations like traditional colonialism.

Naturally, developing nations have their own reservations about the organization, but unlike the Western countries, they generally complain not about its interference in their affairs but about its inaction. And this is often the result of major-power obstruction. Consider South Africa, where the West, under American leadership, dragged its feet every time an opportunity to act against the apartheid regime presented itself. Or the Middle East, where Israel has repeatedly cajoled the United States into vetoing U.N. resolutions condemning its various misdeeds and even into blocking an international conference, which most nations believe is the only vehicle for achieving a settlement in that troubled region. History moves on, however slowly. The repeated denunciations of South Africa's policies at the rostrum of the General Assembly and in other U.N. bodies helped launch the present wave of antiapartheid sentiment, which even the U.S. government cannot ignore. In the long run, similar pressures may be in store for Israel.

Let me also stress that there is a clear link between the emergence of a U.N. majority composed of developing nations and the issue of nonalignment. The discovery that one does not have to be subservient to one of the superpower blocs, that the examples of Nehru, Tito and Nasser could be followed even by the ministates, completely changed the political climate in most of those nations. The proclaimed devotion to nonalignment might appear farfetched sometimes, but just choosing nonalignment as a garment, however ill-fitting, is in itself significant.

The period of the nonaligned movement's greatest vigor and hope was also the time when the Third World seemed to have found its way into the future and when the United Nations' role in world affairs seemed to be increasing. The disappearance of remarkable leaders like Tito, Nehru, Nasser, Nkrumah and Sukarno; the Indian-Chinese border crisis; Egypt's retreat under Sadat from its leading role in the Arab world; Yugoslavia's internal problems and its reduced international effectiveness; and many other factors have made nonalignment shrink as a political force if not as an idea. Consequently the camp of the developing nations, which was at times conterminous with the nonaligned camp, is itself in disarray. But in history the postman always rings twice—if not more often. A rejuvenated India, a nonisolated Egypt, new leaders, could emerge. Of course, if one sizable European country had the pluck to choose active nonalignment

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things would go more quickly. But de Gaulle is dead, and Mitterrand is Reagan's best European friend.

Now, to follow another trend of thought, couldn't the United Nations be the preferred locus for an East-West dialogue, the peace machine the world needs? It could if tensions were not so great and so deeply ingrained. As things are, it serves mostly as a propaganda podium, not entirely a bad thing, because airing problems, even in a disingenuous way, is better than letting them brew and ferment until they boil over and set the world afire. But the truth is, the two superpowers do not *need* the United Nations to talk with each other, and both feel that the fewer people around when they do talk, the better. It is the other nations, especially the smaller and less influential ones, who need the United Nations and who have repeatedly shown that they want to use it to force the superpowers to make mutual concessions. To do that, though, you must be independent of either bloc and you must be organized to exert pressure—which brings us back to the role of the nonaligned.

But couldn't the structure of the organization change? Couldn't it be made into some kind of world government? The answer is, nobody is going to force that on the superpowers or even on the minor powers—unless, of course, our superstatesmen manage to plunge us into World War III, and General Holocaust Number One, after which the survivors, if any, will be ready for it. But if that is our only hope, we have no hope at all.

I do not want to end on such a pessimistic note, since I believe that "the worst is not certain." We may enjoy many more years of relative peace, during which some progress may be made on disarmament and mutual understanding. Meanwhile, the United Nations will continue to serve its multiple purposes, and even if that is not always done with all the desired efficiency, isn't it true that effort and money devoted to those purposes are incomparably more worthwhile than those squandered on military budgets?

Finally, I think there is one field in which the organization's endeavors could be much greater and possibly more rewarding: what I would call Information for Peace. This has many aspects, from Unesco's attempt to have an *honest* world history written and distributed in all (or at least many) countries, to the publication of up-to-date figures about military budgets and the balance of forces. New means of information could be used here. The French government would like the European Economic Community to finance a system of observation satellites known as Eureka, which could give us a constant picture of military activities around the world. But the community has close ties to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, so there are some doubts about the "peacefulness" of such observation. And why should only Western Europe be concerned with these problems? U.N. satellites spying for peace and reporting to the world would not be vulnerable to accusations of bias. And by destroying the military secrets of all the various camps, they could ease mutual distrust and make military aggression more difficult. How could even President Reagan object to such a scheme? Ah well, as I said, a little hope is needed . . . □

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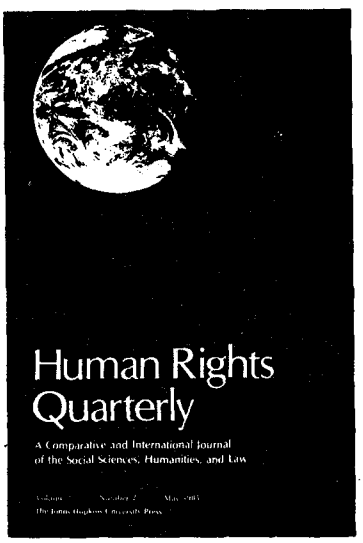

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

'La Cité, C'est Moi'

MARSHALL BERMAN

I, KOCH: A Decidedly Unauthorized Biography of the Mayor of New York City, Edward I. Koch. *By Arthur Browne, Dan Collins and Michael Goodwin. Dodd, Mead. 304 pp. $18.95.*

He has a fat, yet hungry look. . . .
—Macbird

I first saw that look on a Long Island beach in the campaign summer of 1977. I had arrived just in time to see Ed Koch depart, grinning triumphantly as he mugged for the cameras and waved to the crowd. Knots of people lingered, talking and arguing, and I asked an old Jewish couple what he had said. "He talked about the blackout and asked us what we thought of the death penalty." The man smiled and squeezed his wife: "She said there should be a death penalty for *mamzer* politicians." I laughed, proud of my city's Jewish humor. The lady shook her head. "They ate it up," she said, pointing to where the crowd was thickest. "He's gonna win."

Koch showed us then, and he has shown us again and again, that he knows how to work a crowd as skillfully as any comic or demagogue in business today. But he has always kept us guessing just what he is working *for*. He has often gone out of his way to provoke black rage and simultaneously to arouse white fears; he always had a gut feeling for what made people mad, and as Mayor, he quickly developed a virtuoso's knowledge of how to make them even madder. Sometimes he has seemed determined to press New Yorkers to a breaking point, and to transform our turbulent civic life into civil war. But then, even as we were seething through the crises he had heated up, he would suddenly metamorphose into a manic clown, a borscht belt *tummler*, dressing up like Michael Jackson, strutting his stuff with Big Bird and Mr. T, drowning us all in torrents of Jewish jive talk. Come on, were we really afraid that Phil Silvers or Henny Youngman ("Now, take my city—please!") was going to start a civil war?

While we were busy wiping off the seltzer and shaving cream that Koch had *shpritzed* us with, he would confound us by changing into something completely different. In his first term, when the city was still in its fiscal crisis, one of his favorite incarnations was the gritty ordinary Joe of Pop-Front mythology, who takes the subway to work, who has paid his dues, who insists that he ain't gonna be treated thisaway and that this city was made for you and me. There was a wartime variation on this theme, the grizzled Sarge in a multi-ethnic Lost Patrol ("Benson . . . Callahan . . . di Salvo . . . Nagurski . . . Rubenstein . . . Washington . . . Wong") who screams at his men and works them like dogs but stakes his life to make sure that they will all come through the fire together.

As Mayor, Koch has never seemed to mind making enemies; indeed, he has often tried to make them. But he has always wanted even his enemies to understand that, no matter what they thought of his policies, he was doing it not for himself but for the city; fight him, hate him, but don't try to deny that he Loves New York. His talk throbs with amorous images: he'll never leave us, he'll be ours till he dies, and so on. There was a time when even his enemies had come grudgingly to admire him for this fervent, obsessive love. And then he threw it all away in a moment, like the most cynical hustler, rushing to grab the very next brass ring that dangled before his eyes, and remembering to look back at his burning city only when it was clear that Albany was beyond his grasp. Many New Yorkers, especially those who liked Koch, were disgusted. But even those who loathed him were perplexed. We couldn't help but wonder, Who is that masked man? And what will his next metamorphosis be?

Arthur Browne, Dan Collins and Michael Goodwin have served their time with Ed Koch, covering City Hall for the *Daily News*, U.P.I. and *The New York Times*, respectively. They have seen him at close range, kept track of his mood swings and costume changes day after day for years, remembered more about him than he probably wants to remember about himself. In addition, they have done a fair amount of digging into Koch's past, and their research is especially impressive, considering that the book was done in a hurry so as to be ready for this year's campaign. (Campaign?) Many people important in the Mayor's life have talked frankly to them, though Koch refused to talk, and browbeat and bullied everyone he could into shutting their doors. *I, Koch* is nothing like an exhaustive biography in the vein of Robert Caro's *The Power Broker*, but if Koch is ever studied on that scale, this book will be an indispensable source.

One of the most engaging things about *I, Koch* is the current of introspection and dialogue that runs through it. We feel we can hear the authors talking to their sources, and to each other, late into the night in the dingy bars near City Hall. This is because the book is so vividly written and also because so many New Yorkers have had these conversations trying to figure our Mayor out. Is he a chameleon, a nihilist? Are his performances motivated by anything beyond an insatiable need for applause? Has he no shame, no limits? Do his sound and fury signify anything? Is there anything we have done to make him what he is, whatever that is?

Browne, Collins and Goodwin don't come up with any Rosebuds, sensational revelations that could explain Koch's whole life. Indeed, their most fascinating discovery is what they don't find: from Newark's South Side High School to Gracie Mansion, Koch's life seems to be "singularly devoid of love, affection, or intimate companionship." Whenever the authors tracked down people who were supposed to have been close to him, they would say things like, "He's someone who just doesn't let people get close to him." Bess Meyerson, who let herself be romantically linked with Koch during his 1977 campaign (and helped dispel rumors of his homosexuality), said, "He's a man always alone. He's so alone he never even walks a dog." Since he left his parents' house on Ocean Parkway almost forty years ago, Ed Koch has had no one to come home to. We learn that his one bedroom companion in Gracie Mansion is a three-foot papier-mâché rabbit named Peewee. It is im-

Marshall Berman teaches political theory at CUNY. He is writing a book to be titled Living for the City: Destruction and Renewal in New York.

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possible not to laugh, but then it is hard not to sigh, to feel for this man alone.

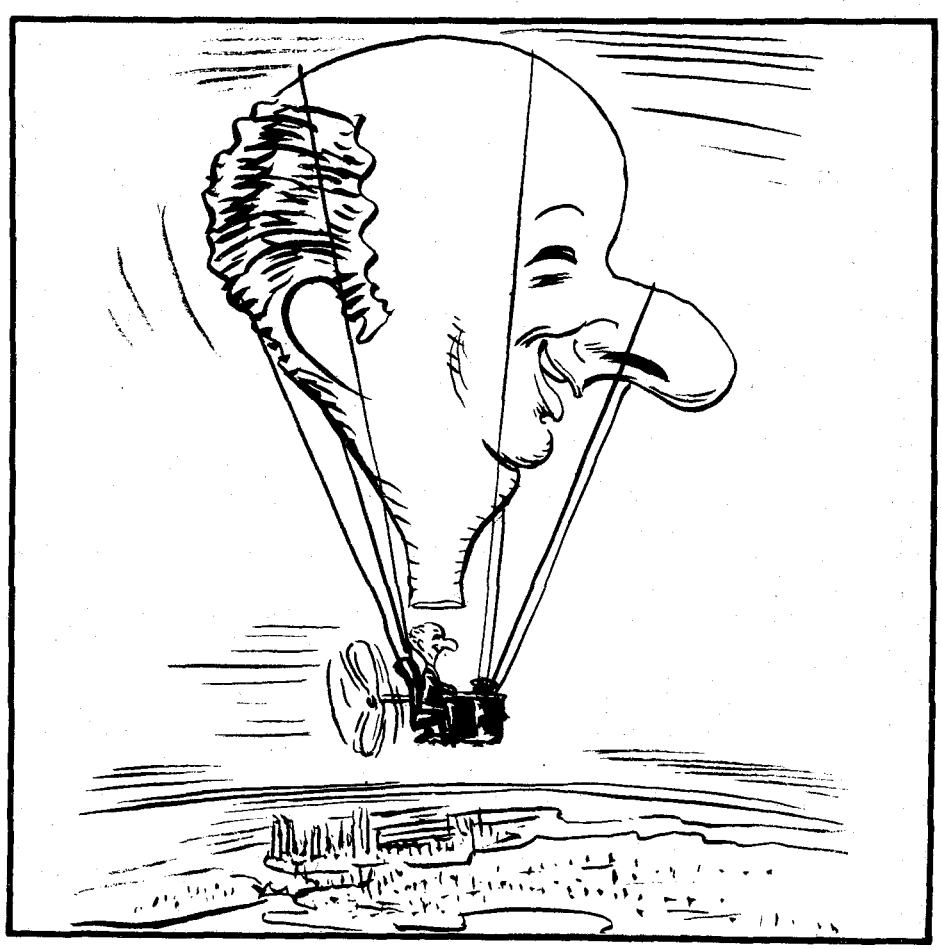
It is rare anywhere in a modern society, but especially rare among Jews, to find a man who not only has never been married but who has never even been seriously in love with anybody. In fact, though, Jewish-American literature contains two models of single men whose lives strikingly prefigure Koch's own: in Abraham Cahan's *The Rise of David Levinsky*, published in 1917, and Samuel Ornitz's *Haunch, Paunch and Jowl* of 1924, both best sellers in the years when Koch was growing up. These novels, written in the first person, tell the life stories of men who rise from the most dreadful poverty and misery, in Eastern Europe and on the Lower East Side, to achieve impressive success in American terms. Cahan's hero becomes a garment manufacturer; Ornitz's, a Tammany lawyer and eventually a judge. Both books are full of fascinating stories about how Jews can make it in the New World, but both skillfully convey the costs of this success. These strivers throw all their brains, energy and desire into their upward climb, but they find themselves cut off from people and from love, and lonely at the top. In *Haunch, Paunch and Jowl*, after the Election Day when Ornitz's hero has made his first venture into New York politics, he lies alone in bed and daydreams through the night:

> I spent hours picturing to myself the honors, glories and profits that would accrue to me from a political career. I saw very clearly how it was that in my city lowbrows ruled in high places, and I saw myself with my brains and astuteness reaching dizzy heights. . . .

This could stand as an epigraph not only to *I, Koch* but to Ed Koch's whole career.

The first half of *I, Koch* traces the tortuous ascent from Grub Street to Gracie Mansion. It is a classic American success story, where the hero triumphs through tenacity, singleness of purpose and strength of will: "There is a certain justice in Koch having reached such great heights of success and popularity—he got there the old-fashioned way. We came to admire his willingness to pay his dues." The authors present vivid pictures of Koch working alone all through the night in a succession of dingy clubhouses and offices, grinding out position papers and canvassing mailing lists, slowly building alliances and networks, year after year, while everybody else was out at the movies or home in bed. For Koch, politics was a private as well as a public life; it meant more to him than it did to other men, because it filled an inner vacuum and mobilized all his powers and desires. We get a memorable portrait of the man in a boat in the middle of Lake Placid on a beautiful summer day, sitting on pins and needles, totally unable to enjoy himself, going crazy because he is "out of touch." He relaxes only after his friends relent, pull up anchor, ferry him to land and find a place where he can get *The New York Times*, so that he can check out the latest political news and plan his next moves. This is the very model of a consummate "political man."

The absence of love and intimacy in Koch's life seems to have liberated all his formidable energies for politics. On the other hand, the authors show, it has persistently warped and deformed his politics. It has intensified and personalized the bitterness and resentment that were part of his social heritage as a working-class Eastern European Jew. (Millions of Jews, after all, have suffered hardships like Koch's own, and far worse. But most of them, when they were done battling in a cruel world, at least had loved ones to come home to. For Koch, that cruel world was all there was.) It has engendered a "cold, calculating pragmatism," a sense of loyalty only to himself and his ambitions. His lack of a private identity—as friend, lover, husband, father—has led him to identify himself passionately with a public entity, the City of New York. The authors argue that this inspired Koch to serve us well when we needed him most, in the years of the fiscal crisis, when his enthusiasm and ebullience helped to convince skeptical power brokers in Washington and on Wall Street, along with plenty of dejected or despairing New Yorkers, that we were going to come through. As time has gone by, however, his identification with the city has led him increasingly to confuse the public welfare with his own, and "to personalize every argument and slight," so that anybody who crosses Ed Koch in any way, or even disagrees with him, is betraying the people of New York: *la cité, c'est moi*. Thus Koch has felt free to indulge his darkest impulses, his inexhaustible depths of spleen and venom, under a cloak of civic sanctity. Secure in his self-righteousness, he lets



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himself go, and saturates New York's political atmosphere with a distinctively virulent strain of acid rain.

Koch's singleness, so rare in a Jew, may be a clue to his manifest lack of one emotion that has been crucial to Jewish ethics and communal life for centuries. I mean the feeling that in Hebrew is called *rachmones*, meaning pity, mercy, sympathy, empathy, compassion for people who are worse off than oneself. The absence of *rachmones* in Koch's makeup enables him to take a savage joy in kicking people—and peoples—who are down. He tells the world that *he* never got any help from anybody, so what right do "these people" have to ask for help, even to demand help, from him? Some observers, like Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel, think that "this son of a bitch is not just insensitive. He knows exactly what he's doing. He has consciously cultivated the backlash." Indeed, the authors find solid evidence that Koch was cultivating the backlash even in his supposedly ultraliberal days (see their account of his role in the 1971 Forest Hills housing controversy). And yet, he has also gone out of his way to hurt and offend blacks and Hispanics when there was no political payoff in sight, and even at times when a minimal civility and decency would probably have paid off more. It often seems that he can't help himself, and may even be hurting himself, as he did in the 1982 gubernatorial campaign. Occasionally, especially in his relations with blacks, he seems to recognize that he is out of control.

The authors tell a fascinating story of one such occasion. Koch had asked Stanley Fink, Speaker of the New York State Assembly, to arrange a meeting with some black leaders to try and patch things up. The leaders came with open (though surely skeptical) minds, but were turned off when Koch used the occasion to reiterate his righteous innocence: hadn't he fought against apartheid? Hadn't he, as a young lawyer, risked his life to defend black voting rights in Mississippi? So why were blacks out to get him now? Afterward, the Mayor appealed to Fink: he had always believed in equal rights for everyone; why wasn't that enough? Fink tried to explain:

> Ed, I got two sons. I love them both the same, I really think I do. But when one is sick, I love him more. I do, I have to because he's sick. That's the way it is with Puerto Ricans and blacks. Because they have problems, we have to love them a little bit more.

But how do you explain *rachmones* to a man who, as far as anyone can tell, has never loved anyone but himself? There seems to be a whole dimension of life that most of us experience every day, and that we take for granted because it is so close to home; to our Mayor, however, it is more remote than the moon.

One theme that resonates intensely through *I, Koch* but isn't explored with the depth it deserves is the authors' own sense of guilt about the role they played in helping the Mayor expand his power and influence. From the day of Koch's first inauguration, when he suddenly dismissed his limousine and jumped aboard the press bus instead, "the men and women on that bus, and others like them, [helped] turn the new Mayor into the most popular and recognizable character ever to inhabit City Hall." Especially in his early days, Koch seemed so open, honest and accessible that reporters were only too glad to be asked into his parlor. Moreover, his adventures and antics supplied them

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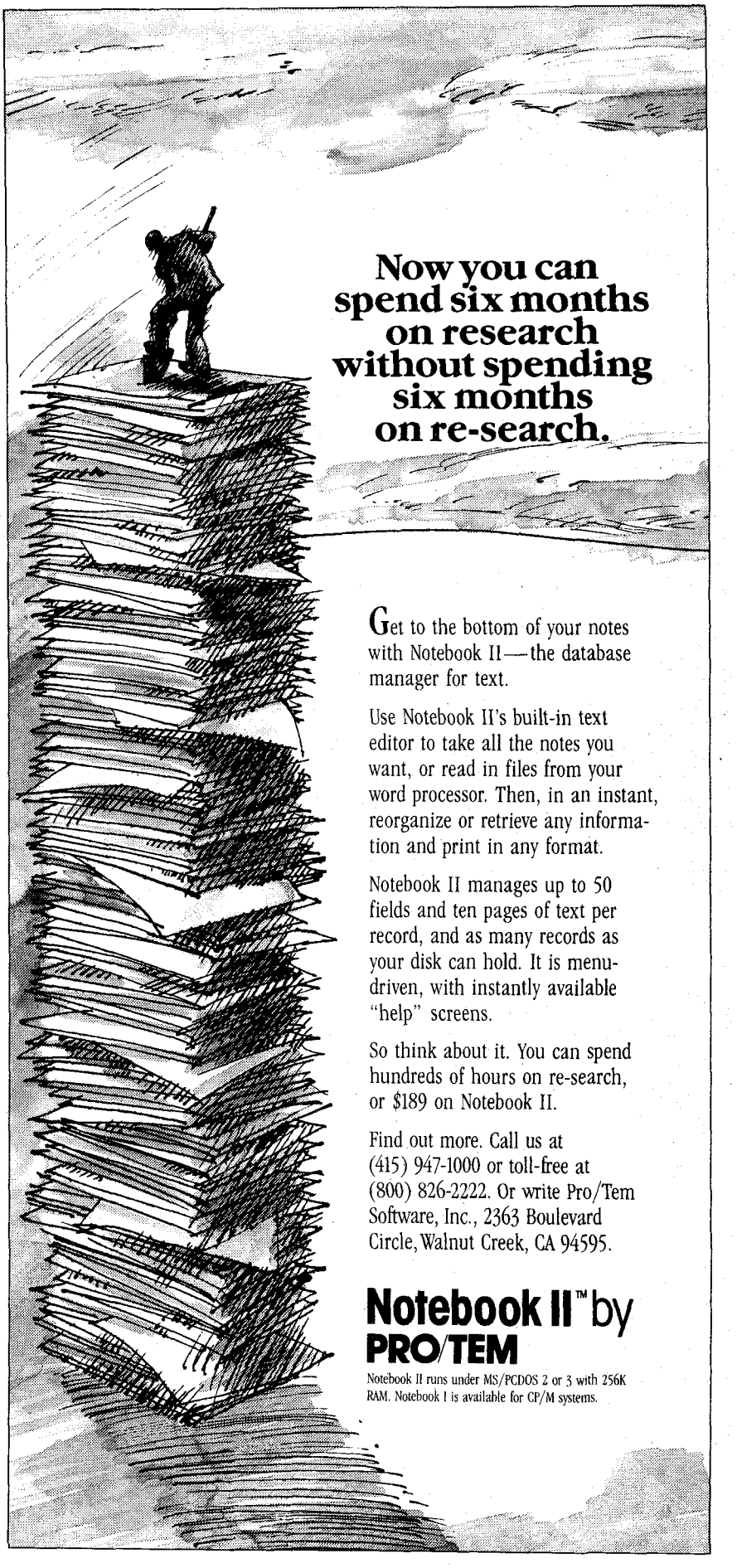
with copy and footage that no editor or producer could resist. Newspaper publishers and station owners were so delighted with Mayor Koch that they asked him (even the august *Times* asked him) to star in their promotional films and campaigns; he didn't have to be asked twice.

Koch's 1981 and 1982 campaigns seem to have been traumatic shocks for many reporters who were happy to ride his bus till then. His stranglehold on both major parties in the mayoral campaign was "about as close as democracy can come to banana-republic politics." His gubernatorial quest, which began about two minutes after he swore he would never leave City Hall, "broke the subliminal bond he had created" with the city. The authors comment, bitterly, that "he had felt no loyalty to the Democratic Party in 1981, and he felt no loyalty to the City now." They write like lovers or spouses betrayed, and their wounds are still open. (Their employers, needless to say, took it all with perfect aplomb, and appear as cozy with the Mayor today as ever.) Many of us who were never admitted to the inner temple of city politics wonder how these smart and sophisticated guys ever let themselves be gulled. The answer is probably that unconscious collusion with one's subject is the permanent, ineradicable occupational hazard of political writing. There is no sure way to avoid making inadvertent contributions to our leaders' campaigns, except not to write about them at all—and who can be sure that silence wouldn't contribute even more?

As our authors fought to detach themselves from the Mayor's stifling embrace, they began to realize that the endless tumult that emanates from City Hall is important not only for what it expresses and reveals but equally for what it represses and conceals. The authors note that many of the municipal services that were dilapidated when Koch took office are in far more disastrous shape today. Mass transit, for instance. The Mayor has not only not helped our transit system, he has actually hurt it. He lobbied in Albany to kill a tax on multimillion-dollar real estate deals which would have generated revenue specifically earmarked for public transit; he has fought adamantly against a Westway trade-in, which might bring enough money for the city to start rebuilding its whole mass transit system. Meanwhile, he blames the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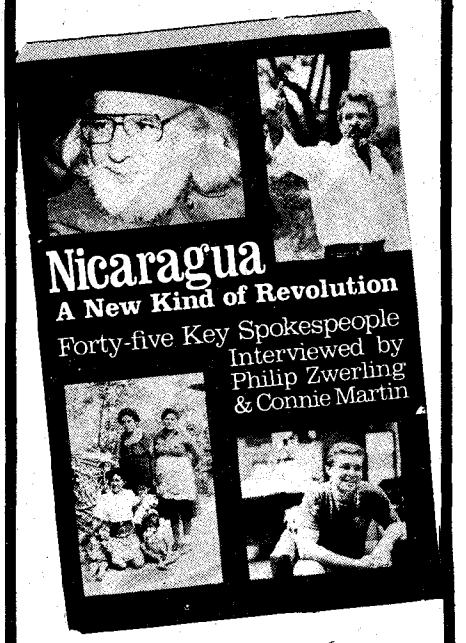
unions when the subways burn up or break down, and mounts expensive, irrelevant campaigns against black and Hispanic youths who paint graffiti on the trains.

The Mayor's incessant bombast ("KOCH: BOMB IRAN," a typical afternoon's headline in the *New York Post*) has also served to drown out massive demolitions of city neighborhoods by some of his friends. In recent years, the city's biggest real-estate developers—the Trumps, Helmsleys, Lefraks, Macklowes—have accumulated enormous clout at City Hall. The primacy of these lowbrows in high places dates from the fiscal crisis years, when Koch felt (not unreasonably) that it was crucial to get big projects going, to bring tax revenue and private capital back to New York. But they have used their inside track to make radical changes in the city's physical and political shape without the people's consent, and indeed behind their backs. New Yorkers today are apt to wake up and find that the streets and buildings around them have been demolished in the middle of the night, to be rebuilt as reservations for the rich. The unkindest cut is that thanks to Koch's tax exemption and abatement policies we are subsidizing the destruction of our neighborhoods with our own tax money. The big developers and their satellites have been given hundreds of millions in public funds to build immensely profitable headquarters, luxury housing and amenities for private capital. They are exploiting New York like a gold mine and treating its people and its environment as so much slag, to be drained off when we get in the way.

Some leftists seem to think that the Mayor has been bought by the big developers and business elites. This is absolutely wrong; that style of corruption is far beneath him. What has happened instead is that Koch has bought their vision of what New York should be: a city where capital from all over the world can find itself instantly at home, while people without capital feel increasingly out of place; a city more solvent and fiscally sound but far less democratic than it used to be. There is no room in this picture for the kind of people Koch once embraced and swore to protect—and the kind of person he once seemed to be. *I, Koch* quotes a man who went through New York University Law School with him in the late 1940s and remembers him as "the kind of guy who

"My only prayer is that our country will allow them to build their dream in peace."



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got kind of sick when he saw an old lady homeless in the street." There are thousands of those old ladies in the streets today, as a direct result of Koch's development policies, which paid landlords to destroy their tenements, rooming houses and SROs and to put luxury housing in their place. It would be interesting to know if he still gets sick, and what he does to make himself feel better.

Browne, Collins and Goodwin leave us with a last image of Koch going through his collection of hundreds of films and videotapes about himself and forcing his dinner guests at Gracie Mansion to sit through and admire these movies until everybody is about to fall asleep. Once again, the reader first laughs, then sighs: under the egomaniacal facade, the loneliness is so blatant, so deep and so sad. I had laughed and sighed a couple of pages earlier when the authors mentioned in passing Koch's favorite song, Carly Simon's "You're So Vain." But when I later played the song, I realized something not only about the sadness of Koch's story but about its tragedy:

> You had me several years ago,
> when I was still quite naïve.
> Well you said we make such a pretty pair
> and that you would never leave.
> But you gave away the things you loved,
> and one of them was me.

Probably no Mayor has ever loved New York as much as Ed Koch has. His love for the city has been the one great love of his life. And no Mayor has done as much as Ed Koch to give New York away.

I, Koch is scathingly critical of our Mayor. Yet it increases his stature in our eyes by showing him as he has never shown himself, as a three-dimensional human being. This book doesn't resolve the essential mysteries about Koch, but it helps us see what those mysteries are. It doesn't chart what our Mayor's next metamorphosis will be, but it shows how he has changed, and suggests that he will go on changing. It won't make anybody like Ed Koch, but it will lead many of us to feel for him. As I felt, I started to dream: Say, Mayor K, why don't we make a deal? We could help you come in from the cold, and you could help us heal the wounds you inflamed and take back the city you gave away. . . . Then I woke up, and I realized that we will have to learn to do these things on our own, and learn fast, while there is still a New York to love. □

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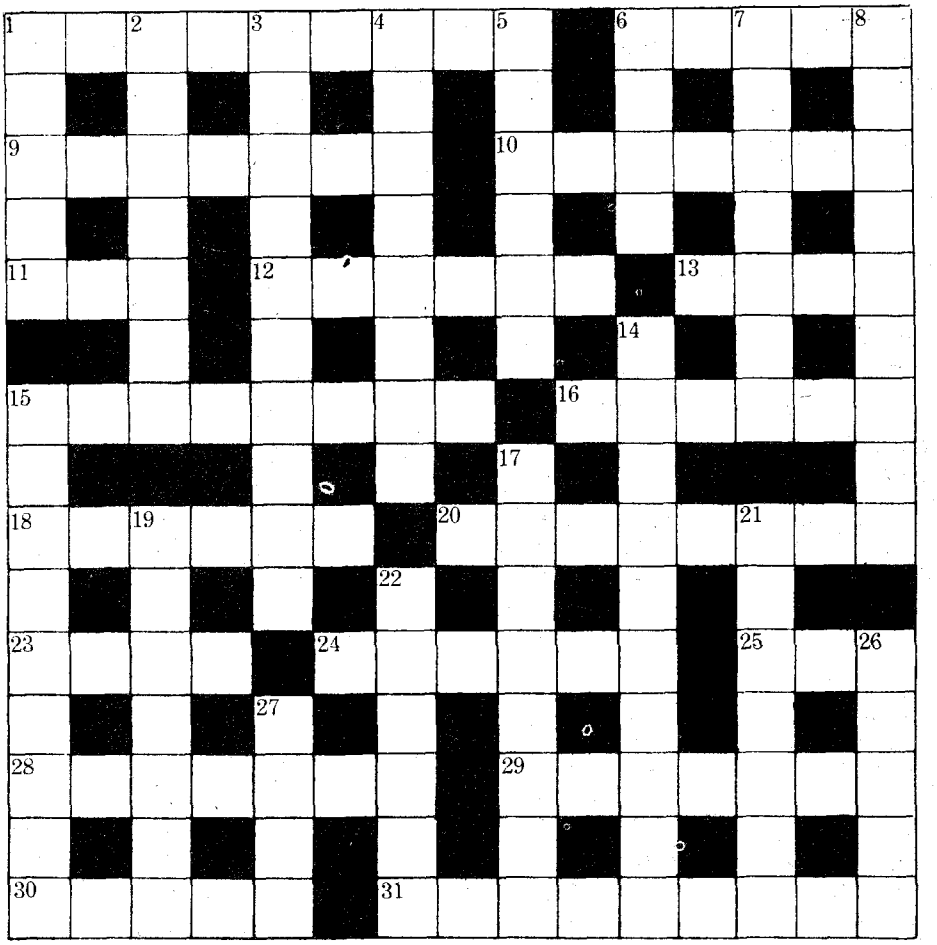

ACROSS

1 and 6 Sounds as though it's not the light part on the chicken, which gives some cause for reflection. (9,5)
9 Choose an entrance, by the sound of it, for one entering the bull ring. (7)
10 See 1 down
11 Deviate temporarily, but more than one might be painful. (3)
12 One of those little girls in the ballet? (Not "The Ugly Duckling," however.) (6)
13 And others of the late sort? (2,2)
15 The condition of San Francisco, for example, or just Massachusetts? (3,5)
16 In itself, ain't solidly in, and passes out. (6)
18 Having an old dress on, as they say, in Spain? (6)
20 You might have crawled on this, but one might like to see them in hand. (3,5)
23 and 30 It might hold up a smaller form of transportation, but gripe, as they say, and suffer! (4-5)
24 Get everything in the market where two walls meet? (6)
25 See 17 down
28 One might have a high calling. (7)
29 Have some pull, near a large plot of ground. (7)
30 See 23
31 Certainly not an actor's paradise, but one might find it illuminating. (4,5)

DOWN

1 and 10 across Is it sad to come upon the unfortunate? Quite the opposite! (Don't worry so!) (5-2-5)
2 Showing a coy manner at the entrance? (7)
3 I can do it in difficulty, with some sign of it. (10)
4 Water, perhaps, I regardly highly, especially around the equipment. (8)
5 Birdies? No, even better, and more valuable if gold. (6)
6 Does it have a rhythmic swing when it's taken out of the till? (4)
7 The peninsula somewhat suggests a plant color. (7)
8 Was their manner bound to be cavalier? (They didn't like those with circular tops, evidently.) (9)
14 Does one only partly believe them? (4-6)
15 Ochi chornya? (Some say they look mousy!) (5,4)
17 and 25 across Is it a shade like a drunken orgy? (One at the far back of the plate might be so-called.) (5,2,1,3)
19 A song about a rat? (It was simply pleasant there!) (7)
21 Slight reason for taking it, perhaps? (7)
22 Sounds as though everybody should have one of Revere's callings. (2,4)
26 The last thing one would do to the car, that's all! (5)
27 What Caesar did with a large number still sleeping? (4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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